

## **Ross Dowson archives -- correspondence -- Year 1964**

- 01\_6 Letter to Dick (F.), Montreal, re: journal assignment
- 01\_17 Letter to Dick and Bob (Horn), Montreal, re: Fair Play in Quebec
- 01\_28 Letter to Dick, Montreal: Algerian literature; problems setting up Fair Play in Montreal; Chartrand's speech; books from Algeria
- 01\_30 Letter to Bob, Montreal: YCL abandoning YCND in Toronto, Panama pickets in Montreal; inter-personal relations with Dick
- 02\_03 Letter to Joel Britton, Chicago: re the need for Algerian aid, work in Quebec
- 02\_03B Letter to Walter Lippman Jr., Madison, WI (USA): on the PSQ in Quebec and the NDP
- 02\_07 Letter to Dick (F.) Montreal:(first page missing): forced to cut article on PSQ; on the Canada-Cuba FLAP Stalinists in Montreal; problems with Malcolm (Bruce) in BC; *L'Algerie dans le Monde* out; misc. In Toronto branch work
- 02\_28 Letter to Bob (Horn), Montreal: re books shipment
- 02\_28B Letter to Dick, Montreal: Dave M. leading the student brigade to Cuba
- 03\_04 Letter to Ernie (T.) Vancouver: on Jerry (H.) and Cliff (O.) on staff in Toronto; Alan (E.) & Jean (R.) wanting to move to BC; the student brigade (to Cuba); B.C. affairs and articles
- 03\_05 +Letter to Reg (Bullock), Vancouver: in response to the news of "despicable intrigue" re Whitney-Peng correspondence, need shipyard strike article, opportunities opening up in Quebec
- 03\_10 Letter to Dick (F.) Montreal: Toronto activities & personnel; Ross to speak at York U.
- 03\_16 Letter to Dear Peter (---?) re Cuban government offer of jobs for hurricane relief
- 03\_19 Letter to Brian S. (Montreal), re: his literature order
- 03\_20 Letter to Dick (F.), Montreal, re: return Chartrand interview for pamphlet changes; report of Chartrand Toronto meetings
- 03\_22 Letter to dear Compañero Gustavo T., Montreal, re: Cuba lit, Hugo Blanco

03\_22B Letter to Bob Horn, re: suggestions on fund drive work; book orders

04\_02 Letter to Dick (F., Montreal), re: Defection of Pablo from the FI; value of Fair Play Cttee. for Cuba defense work & student tour; on upcoming CLC convention in Montreal

04\_06 Letter to Art Gray (ON), re: thanks for large donation; aid to Algeria

04\_07 Letter to Bob (Horn? –R--?), Montreal: re his request to the PC that LSA appeal to CPC; our contact with the Scott group in BC; issue of CP muted in our press recently

04\_15 Letter to Edith (S., Montreal): re Bob's whereabouts (kicked out of Cuba?)

05\_0 Document "Some notes of a conversation with Nick Olynik,\* Toronto" by RD: re: the 1927-1935 period in an out of the CP (*\*see also: a Nic Oleniuk interview attached*)

05\_06 Letter to Comrade Bernard B., Edmonton: re enquiry into what the LSA is, also the SWP

05\_12 Letter to Dick (F., Montreal), re: his chat with Brian S. about Montreal; need for pamphlet on Quebec and the national question, Ernie (T.)'s report on Continental Congress; the need for Dick to contact Julia in Montreal and to go out and have a drink with Bob .

05\_19 Letter to Dick (F.) Montreal, re: meeting with Gus T.; moving towards setting up a LSA branch in Montreal

05\_27 Letter to Dear Al, Belleville: re his return from Cuba

06\_02 Letter to Bob (Horn), Montreal; re: attempts to get (Michel) Chartrand to sponsor a Quebec committee; For a "Pan American" congress

06\_04 Letter to Ernie (T., Vancouver), re: need for caution on new HQ commitments in Vancouver; on the tight finances in the center and cash advances for bookstore not possible; on Vancouver branch personnel

06\_11 Letter to Comrades, Montreal, re: congratulations on setting up the Quebec movement, and to start publishing *La Lutte Ouvrière*

06\_17 +Letter to Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): BC strikes; the Fair Play trip to Cuba; Ernie & Alan find good new bookstore location; Pablo splits from the FI

06\_20 Letter to Edith & Bob (S.) Montreal: Fair Play for Cuba established in Montreal

06\_24 Letter to Dick, Montreal, re: publications in progress, (Cuba) student tour launched; on Bob S. and Bob Horn in Montreal; on RD's relations with Dick; on the split in the Ceylonese RSSP

07\_06 Letter to Art (Y.), in Algeria: His arrival in Paris, the student tour to Cuba gets publicity; our need for literature and movies from the Algerian committee

07\_10 +Letter to Reg (Bullock), Vancouver: Joe Meslin under union pressure; a question mark on your tour home from Cuba; picket lines in support of US Negroes, struggles with Stalinists over Negro defence tactics but Feinberg gives militant speech

07\_16 Letter to Toni, Port McNicoll, re: her upcoming speech on the Cuban Revolution

07\_25 Letter to Art, in Algeria, re: Toronto soldiers on without you; on the Cuba student tour; Jack Scott drops in to discuss China

08\_04 Letter to Stan Grey, re contacting our comrades in Vancouver

08\_19 Letter to Cliff Gunter, Windsor, re: agreement on analysis of Stalinism today; on Jack Scott's launching a China defence movement in Vancouver

08\_21 Letter to Dick (F.), Montreal, re: reaction to RD's article on the RIN and PSQ; Mike Mill planning a move to Montreal; discussion on him.

08\_21B +Notice to Comrades, Toronto LSA re: wording of press release on Riverdale by-election: use of term "Trotskyist"

08\_25 Letter to Dick, Montreal, re: literature on the national question; Setting up our Montreal HQ; New Jack Scott Canada-China friendship group launched unilaterally in BC

08\_25B +Letter to Ruth (Bullock), Vancouver: BC press report of our "Socialist House" in Montreal; Cuba tour unionists back

09\_08 Letter to Ernie (T., Vancouver), re: Proposal that Ernie return to Toronto, changes needed in PC

10\_06 Letter to Ernie: Problems of leadership renewal (Jerry H.'s negative role); launching of LSO in Montreal

- 10\_07 Letter to Dick( F.), Montreal, re: setting up the LSO; developments in the movement across Canada
- 10\_10 Letter to Alan (Harris, in Britain??) re developments in Vancouver branch, in Montreal, in Toronto (evaluation of personnel)
- 10\_10B Letter to Reba and Joe (Hansen, SWP, New York), re: need for a youth HQ here; George (Novack's) Dell edition on Trotsky; need for a pamphlet on the FI; to Reba on women leaders in the Canadian movement
- 10\_13 Letter to Robert Fulford, Toronto *Daily Star*: disputing his take on the "Marxist aspect of (Quebec) separatism"
- 10\_15 Document: **LSA announces formation of LSO** "autonomous in program and statutes" (*Workers' Vanguard*)
- 10\_17 Letter to Dick F. (Montreal), re: note on Quebec articles etc.
- 10\_29 Letter to Gordon (---?) USA, re: Cuba meetings; Vancouver branch and ultraleft Scott group in BC
- 11\_00 Document (LSA Toronto civic election leaflet) Vote to elect labor, vote socialist; for Mayor Ross Dowson, for Controller Patricia Mitchell
- 11\_05 Letter to Cliff Gunter, Windsor, re: critique of Stalinist slanders (by Scott group in Vancouver—PWM?) against LSA and their sectarian attitude toward NDP
- 11\_15 Letter to Dick, Montreal, re: his document on Quebec printed; a comrade advised not to scold Pierre (Frank, FI leader, Paris); our appreciation of Dick's contribution to the discussion on Quebec, the problems of building a local leadership and his direction towards editing of *Vanguard*; Ernie's role in BC
- 12\_29 Letter to Dick, Montreal, re: editorial changes to his document on Quebec; suggestions for *LLO* content; thoughts on political contents of Quebec document & NDP-labor party question; on French unilingualism and the place of anglophone comrades in the LSO.



Wednesday  
Jan 6, 1964

Montreal

Dear Dick

(to)

I see our letters crossed in the mail. However aside from your comments on the last issue-in particular my "editting" of your article you raise some new matters.

Alas I will have to leave them for a few days

But there is one that must be answered right away so that you can be thinking of it and in the next few days try to manage to squeeze some time out of your school-study hours, ISO work etc to handle.

Yes--I think that it would be very good if you would send us in an article on the CSN victories--four to five pages would be fine.

Right now I am working on the poshest FP pamphlet yet--the youth tour job. Then there is an international bulleting we must get out ---have to go to NY sometime within the next two weeks and get the paper out.

will write at length first opportunity--could use the article  
first chance you have                      warmest regards                      Ross



January 17, 1964

Montreal

*Fitter Horn*  
Dear Dick and Bob;

Chartrand will be arriving in Montreal this weekend I gather from Vern.

I am not sure of your relationship to him but I am wondering if you could not get his agreement immediately for a press interview somewhat similar to the one we arranged for Vern, Dick. I think that that experience was a good one and that we made a serious error in not arranging one for me upon my return from Algeria. The Globe and Mail gave us a good coverage--rambling but extensive and on this count alone it was worth it. The Star phoned up to Vern's after the event but carried nothing. Of course the Tribune said nothing. But the executive had a chance to meet Vern. It cost about \$1.00 a piece. Chartrand of course is much more newsworthy--got the cartoon--and would be certain to get press. I would imagine that you could find out from the airport exactly when he will be arriving so that it could be arranged with his permission within 12 or 24 hours.

I think that we should now be talking over what we want to do with Fair Play in the Montreal area. I gather that FLAP is really closed to us. Vern says that Cruz dismissed it when he was talking over the situation with him in Cuba and still carries his line that he would like to see a FPCC. Maybe with Chartrand's return--there would be considerable interest in hearing him give a talk on his experience--this is the time to launch it. We have to make an assessment of FLAP. From a few words of Dick's I gather that it is worthless. It would be a mistake therefore to let Chartrand speak to it upon his return which might be contemplated. Chartrand was in the Montreal Fair Play--he didn't play any leading role, but he was in it--attended a few meetings. Maybe he could ~~xxx~~ with his authority call the ~~xxx~~ key people together to see what they want to do. He would probably under the enthusiasm of his trip do this with the understanding that Bob would take the matter on regardless of the response. Perhaps we should have a discussion ~~en trois~~ --Chartrand, Bob and Julia--adding Dick about the whole matter.

If we decide to set up FPCC it can be on a very modest basis. You have a first rate tool in your hands with the FPCC Winter Bulletin. I do not see that the language is such an important matter--particularly at this stage. Are the Cubans still putting out French literature. That fellow Huard is very anxious to do Cuba work. And of course every help possible will be coming from here.

Probably the next pamphlet coming out of Fair Play will be the discussion on cultural freedom provoked by Blas Roca's objection to the importation ~~movement~~ and showing of certain European films such as La Dolce Vita. Chartrand is bringing the English translation of some of this material back with him. Vern has already written for the translation so that we get on with the pamphlet as soon as possible. It is probable that we would like to publish this in both English and French--for here ~~xxx~~ we have a pamphlet of high interest in cultural circles everywhere. Chartrand expressed a real desire to put his print shop at the disposal of the committee ~~xxx~~

Will write later on other matters.

I do not have a house address for you Bob--didn't send this to the box as I understand your clearing of it is sporadic. Would appreciate a copy of any Algerian material you may receive--French or English  
warmest regards Ross



Jan 28, 1964

Montreal

Michel Mill  
Bob Horv

Dear Dick

Too bad we havent been able to get Art's book for him yet. Here is the works --La Revolution Algerienne par Les Textes by A Mandouze, published in Paris by Collection Cahiers Libres, 1962. Ask them to order it if it cannot be obtained anywhere immediately. And if in your perambulations you come across a copy of the Daniely Guerin book on the popular front dont buy a copy as Lois bought me one when she was there a few weeks ago--bought one for Jean-M-B and for me. I will send it on for you when she brings it down to the store.

It was good to obtain all the Algerian literature--6 items I think it was. I am wondering if the committee can spare two more sets. I sent the one set you gave me to Art. But we could use one here for Don and also another for our files. Today I sent them an order direct to Algeria for copies of everything they have in English.

A few days back we received in the bookstore a letter from a

K Morris  
4302 Clark St  
Montreal 18 Que

He wants copies of some rare LT pamphlets to buy or loan. German What Next--the manifesto of the 4th on Second World War and another Manifesto of the 4th dealing with the Soviet Union and imperialist war. Do you know him? For some reason the address and the writing is familiar to me but associated with the name M Krantz. He writes he doesnt get satisfactory replies from Pioneer and "also their list of reading material contains too much reformism which I cannot stand." If you dont know him or if you could drop in on him. Do you have these pamphlets. Probably you have the German one--which you could loan him right away. If you dont have the rest I will send them on to you. My impression of an M Krantz that I associate with that scrip and address is not a good one. Let me know what you do with this

Yes I think that it is excellent that we should hold a meeting to discuss what is to be done--Michel, you, Bob, Julia. Truly scandalous what Glazer and co did with Fair Play --and its funds. It seems to me apparent that we ~~xxx~~, or anyone who has any illusions ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~, can expect less and less from FLAP. The CP line causes them to less and less identify themselves with Cuba and even the Latin American struggle generally. I havent had a chance to read their new programmatic document prepared for their coming convention--Ernie sent us a copy. But I would bet that it is farther to the right all down the line. Last Sunday they actually tried to sink the YCND. Our comrades defeated their motion to dissolve the organization however in all probability they will be withdrawing from it. The Tribune carried a lead headline on the Peace Congress policy--they are no longer opposing NATO but working in it to fuse it with the Warsaw Pact Alliance--and they are calling for nuclear free zones--one for Latin America. A recent issue reproduced part of Castro's speech--the January one that you read while in here last. They never had a word about Castro's attack on Johnson the explosion incident in Cuba, Castro's reference to Viet Nam--they cut out all the anti-American imperialist material.

It seems to me that we are required to move out on Cuba...even if only on a very modest basis at first. This would be a strain as Bob has piled up energy and I dont doubt for a moment + we are on the verge of recruit-



can be handily involved. The main... the committee is circulating literature so it is not too hard to gear this to the forces at your disposal. Fortunately we have a functioning committee here so that it is possible to coast in on much of the national activities. The language of course is the big problem but what with Chartrand we will be able to solve this--he is anxious to publish material for the committee. The pamphlet on the Roca-Guevara discussion will be coming out in French. We can get a box and put ads in some of the more likely journals on the literature we have--even with what we now have. I am sure I saw Second Declaration of Havana in French and there is possibly more. Possibly some can be obtained from France itself. From time to time entirely when it suited our forces there we could arrange something of a public character. Chartrand's return of course is a natural however if the PSQ and the NLA has seized him ok. I think we should block him from accepting any engagement to speak to FLAP. At least until he has spoken for Fair Play. I suppose you know we have the mailing list of Fair Play here. I would think that for the immediate period between a PSQ meeting and an NLA meeting Chartrand would be pretty much used up. If there is anything more to draw on--possibly the NLA cannot draw people who were on the FPCC list--(doubtful I know but not excluded) then it seems to me that it should be Fair Play. A modest public meeting is not a big job--renting a hall, putting out a leaflet--Bob I am sure would take this on. It would be good if you could take on just ~~another~~ the job of chairing it--you having been in Cuba before and having been associated with FPCC elsewhere.

If this is not possible there are other projects aside from circulating material at other meetings which Bob absolutely excels all others at. For instance there is the project we are talking about of gathering a score of students to go to Cuba this summer. You must write Vern and see what is happening on this--now that I think of it. I would think that several would be wanted from U of M campus. I don't know whether the Cuban's would want any of their cultural exchange projects under FPCC auspices. After the Chartrand turmoil dies we could bring Vern into Montreal.

At anyrate there seems to me to be a considerable area of work here--which would prove highly profitable --and which could really be geared to our capacities.

Now of course I am not trying to change your minds--I am only trying to talk over the possibilities taking into due account all the problems of forces at our disposal etc. There is one thing that we should really keep in mind and that is the contacts we are working on. What better way of testing them, bringing them along towards a fuller understanding of our views than to swing them in behind Algerian and FPCC work.

Could you get a tape recorder to take down Chartrand's speech to the NLA. No doubt he will be very busy in the next period--after all they do have to get their paper out and get working on the framework of an organization. Under such circumstances it is doubtful if he will want to take the time out or find the time to write up an article. A tape of a speech that he gives in an audience like the NLA would probably be just what we want. Vern asked me what I thought should come out of his tour in the form of a pamphlet. Well John and Phil want to make a contribution so perhaps we could pull off another version of four Canadians--with Chartrand the big attraction this time instead of Cox. I think we still need some such attraction to carry our literature--perhaps even more than before with the attack that the committee is undergoing in BC. This is incidentally a serious attack. I suggested that it might just be a jab to provoke Cox, Clifford and co who have been quite openly talking about pulling out of the NDP into actually doing so. From what Ernie has learned for the first time Clifford feels that they are going to be expelled.

Well what is actually the score with Denise. I see she has got Lebas' agreement to drop the committee for a month. Since she is so unstable and conducting herself in such an irresponsible way --if she actually does go to France, pull out leaving the committee she can do it terrible harm--can we not move in with someone like Guette Demers. Here is Demers involved in a very practical activity and with the respectability of WUS



Our students are so busy with the Bloomington case here that I haven't dared to raise the question of WUS and books to Algeria project. But here is an interesting thing. Incidentally did you read the Nov-Dec issue of *Algerie dans Le Monde*? that issue contained some information about the needs of Algeria that was quite specific. ~~Extensive information~~ ~~on the needs of Algeria~~. Page 28-- it spells out exactly what kind of technicians they need in Algiers, Oran and Bou-Ismaïl. This is the most concrete bit of information on needs that I have seen. One of the notes you will see says that the pharmacist, the dentist and doctor have all the equipment there in Bou-Ismaïl together with free houses that they would want. I seem to recall that aside from the one fellow that I referred to the committee there were others definitely interested. Were any of them printers, photo engravers linotypers. If among those who signified they were interested there were any such technicians we can now write the Algerians and get the exact details worked out-- we can present them with a specific proposition

~~Extensive~~ Faced with such an unstable person as Denise it might be well to try to call a meeting such as you told me of before and put in a substitute as a beginning for the duration of her possible absence. It seems to me what with the imposing list of sponsors we have got over the main hurdles. And I recall from your discussions we actually do have some worthwhile persons around..

I assume that Don's letter raising the matter of getting sustaining donations and also raising the proposition of importing films arrived alright. When I was last talking to him he told me that Denise had yet to answer his first letter. He has located the phone numbers of all the pros you sent names of, was apparently having trouble contacting them in the evening when he is free and last Saturday was going to take his car to see them. He went out armed with the press release and some of the material we have. We can go ahead here even as things are once we get our hands on some movies. But of course the situation there in Montreal is much more favorable

I am sure that the customs can do what they did with the Algerian material. For sometime Pioneer material was never cleared by the clerks up in the regular customs rooms but had to go down to the RCMP. They would look it over while I stood there, usually giving it to me, sometimes saying that they would have to hold it then it came to us in the mail a few days later. I don't doubt that they can take a copy as they did. I don't know what the slip was you signed. Probably they will be sending you that copy via the mail shortly. ~~Extensive information~~ I don't know what the law is but this I do know --customs regulations are so finicky that if you started to challenge them on the above accounts they would soon be able to get at you on some other count. ~~Extensive~~ Hard to say what is behind it. It may be that some little clerk is leary and afraid of violating some regulation that doesn't even formally exist. Then it may be the work of some son of a bitch who hopes to frighten or see if he can frighten the recipient. Of course no matter the cause it ~~extensive~~ certainly has its origins in the atmosphere of semi-illegality that has been draped around the left in Canada and particularly in Quebec. While such little incidents are aggravating and their questions provocative I try to create an atmosphere of philosophic calm--you know surprise-at the absurdity of the whole thing, ridicule at the questions--but general Chinese--like detachment at the absurdities of the bureaucratic machine. As I say we may have all kinds of rights but they have all kinds of ways within those formal rights of mucking you up properly.

I have cut Glazer's bundle off. I should send you a batch of the old man's essays, firm morals and ours after reading how they handled the FPCC funds, and the details of various arguments such as Kowaluk's. Yes the material you sent into the Vanguard has been at the post with regards to making known the PSQ's views to outside Quebec lists. We not only carried all the important material but we gave it a very good valuation in the Montreal area...thanks to the lists we have picked up. Incidentally we have so far done nothing with the NLA list outside of the Montreal area



The NLA will probably be bu...duc's item in our last issue. The linotypist asked me how in the hell I expected anyone to read it without a dictionary in hand. It was just up their alley. Yes FPCC could do with a tape of the NLA meeting speech--tell them that Vern asked if we could take one--that is if you know someone with a tape recorder you can borrow. As for the Vanguard -yes it would be very nice to scoop the NL Commentary with an interview of Chartrand. The other project sounds good too--the PSQ communique issued by the executive in response to the attacks by David Lewis. This latter you could send on to us for Mike or someone else to translate. We could use both items in the coming issue even though we are talking over a proposition of publishing the Castro January speech in collaboration with Fair Play--they kicking in on the type and we giving it to them for a pamphlet. This is not settled. I would like any material that you have in here by the 9th of February weekend--that is right after the weekend.

Glad to get the item on the by-elections--- the item on the Montreal Peace Walk solidarity demonstration and the squib on the Panama demonstration.

All in all quite a flurry there. We did n't do anything on Panama. It wouldn't have drawn anything other than ourselves--on top of that we have those little trials or appeals coming up and those things don't help our case. Besides the comrades have been working hard on the YSF sales--sold ~~more~~ about 450 single copies and on the Bloomington case--and there appeared to be little interest.

I am quite surprised at the success of the Panama demonstration on the basis of Bob's short report. The Universite Ouvriere group's participation was really significant. With ~~such~~ assurances of such a militant picket line group it would seem that such actions can be pulled off there. I did not think we could do such an action without needlessly exposing ourselves. After all there are only two of us and in such a situation we should ~~not~~ try not to get out too much on a limb where we might tend to get isolated, even harassed by the authorities. Here we have a certain amount of resources ~~which we can fall back on~~ which we can fall back on. We also have varied activities which give a proper balanced picture of what we are about. Boy is that one slogan Assassins get out of Panama a harsh one to Canadian ears

~~Just~~ Glad to see that Stan Grey is pushing us--when are we going to open the doors.

warmest regards

Ross



January 30, 1964

Montreal

Dear Bob;

(Norm)

Sorry that you did n't make it over the weekend. I had interpreted your letter to mean that you were coming in. However I now see that it will be after the by-election.

Quite a storm there in Montreal---pickets here there and everywhere. Very happy to get the reports. As you see we managed to get them into the paper and put them to good use. The Montreal material has certainly made the paper more interesting.

No alas---there hasn't been the parallel develop here. Right now all the youth are up to their necks in the Bloomington case and doing very well with it not only on the U of T campus but on York. The YCL is pulling back away from us drastically. Last Sunday election for the executive day for the YCND saw them actually put forward a motion to disband the organization. We defeated the motion but of course all they have to do now is walk away. Then too as you possibly know from Dick the appeal to the NDP brass on the expulsions are now very close. So all in all we felt that any picket on Panama would only result in ourselves turning up and only further playing into the NDP brass's hands right at this time.

I see you are the man behind the Panam picket. Glad to see that it came off so well. The Universite Ouvrier provides a very solid core doesn't it. An excellent action although I thought that the slogan calling the American imperialists Assassins somewhat strong for Montreal ears....this of course is not to challenge the truth of it. There is one other thing I would like to say which may not be valid but I think may have some little validity. You know I hope your actions will always take into account the actual situation that we are in down there in Montreal. There is just the two of you and this simple fact seems to me to be a considerable governing factor of your work--particularly when there are already sizeable areas of it already laid out for you. The Algerian committee--Fair Play--NDP--PSQ.

To a considerable degree these commitments--ones that we already recognize as extremely importance--shape and determine much of our activity. And I don't mean from the point of view of time along--which is of course of considerable importance. I mean also from the point of view of building influence in these areas. Unfortunately the right wing here in Toronto has effectively labelled picket demonstrations as Trotskyists in NDP circles. Ridiculous and of course we have to fight it but we also have to recognize it and take it into account. That is not probably true in Montreal where the youth including spearhead and others appear to demonstrate more or less regularly. But generally speaking actions that we indulge in should flow out of the main areas of work that we are involved in and should take along the best forces with them that we happen to be working with.

Primarily our task is educational much more true than in Tor

I would say that this is even  
we already built up some forces



sustain a public organization, with forums running candidates etc. We are in a position to initiate actions on our own should we consider it necessary regardless of any other opinion.

In Montreal no one anticipates independent actions on our part. Particularly because we don't have any real independent existence. And I would expect that generally speaking we would move out with forces from the area where we are concentrating our influence with some sensitivity to their willingness to move out. The big thing confronting us in Montreal is to really get ourselves entrenched in the most important milieu of radical workers—not to present ourselves as leaders in areas where they are not prepared to follow but to present ourselves as the most able participants in the best and most fruitful activities that they are involved in.

I don't say this to mark the Panama picket off as an inadvisable action. In fact it attracted more persons than I would have thought possible and I actually know nothing about the reactions of our best PSQ, NDP and Algerian contacts towards the event. I just throw it in for your consideration.

I see you are really getting around. Makes me miss this important contribution that you always made to us here in Toronto all the more. Always pleased to get the bits of information on such matters as the refounding of the NDY. The Université Ouvrière group sounds very good. Too bad we of the Toronto ISA have no one who can speak French to take advantage of their offer to have us speak at their group. I gather that Gagnon himself has little connection with them now. Some of these persons participated in the regroupment movement that we got underway years back—and quite a few of them were once readers of the Vanguard. Do they never have English speaking persons address their forums?

Yes it seems apparent to me on the basis of what Dick had to say about various persons there when he was last in that we are in a position of setting up a branch shortly.

In your Jan 19 letter you have a few lines which ~~alarm~~ be a bit—concerning personal relations with Dick. I must say that ~~like~~ everything that Dick has said about you and he mentioned you many times in his conversations has been most laudatory. In fact your raising the matter has caused me to search back in my memory and I cannot try as I may recall even the slightest hint that he had any differences with you personal, political or what you will.

I know Dick has a certain excitability of temperament. And I know that you are somewhat oversensitive—we won't say anything about me at this time. But I must say when we talked about two persons going down I became a little worried about the compatibility of just two persons. Milton wrote me a letter that we had to send four or five—that one or two was worthless. But of course we do not have the forces to colonize more there—and of course while I know that it is very easy to say this—it is most important for our future in Montreal that both of you make every possible effort to make allowances for personal characteristics. This I know for sure—that is that Dick has the highest respect for you as a revolutionist.

Unfortunately I do not think that I can get you a copy of Joe's book of poems Peter didn't print enough copies. But next afternoon Joe is down I will see what he has for submission—in fact he is writing right now a very powerful anti-war poem—I am trying to get him to write it as part of a broad series. The Mandel books is out of print. But the other matters we can take up when you arrive.

Yards

Ross



February 3, 1964

Joel Britton  
5225 S Greenwood  
Chicago 15, Ill

Dear Comrade;

Re your enquiries about Algerian Aid work.

I had the honor of attending the conference held in Algiers last summer.

Your acquaintances are very much mistaken in their belief that the Algerians "can take care of themselves." The conference was organized precisely with the purpose of obtaining aid ---aid not from governments which would obviously be of the most substantial character but from non-governmental sources--particularly socialists. The Algerian revolution is in the direst need of technicians of all sorts. They are essential in order to get the economy moving again and prevent the recurrence of such counter-revolutionary demonstrations as took place last month in Oran.

No doubt your acquaintances, since I see one of them has written a book on Algeria, read French. Under separate cover I am enclosing a copy of *Algerie dans le Monde*. This is a periodical that is primarily dedicated to winning aid to Algeria. On page 28 they even spell out what kind of technicians are required in various areas and the facilities that are available to them.

A committee has been launched here in Canada from Montreal. Algeria unfortunately is almost an unknown quantity in the rest of Canada but in Quebec there is considerable interest. The committee is only getting underway and we are hoping that with its development it will be more practical to initiate something in the Toronto area --a group of some sort which would tie in its efforts with the Montreal committee. There is a chap in the Toronto area investigating this field. When I was in Algeria I saw some films of the revolution which were much more impressive to me than anything that has come out of Cuba. It is possible that some of these may be brought in. Picture exhibits may be arranged. Right now World University Services is collecting books to restore the Algiers University Library. I think that the Montreal group is involved in this and possibly Toronto may participate.

I would suggest that you recommend your acquaintances contact the Montreal Committee. I am enclosing a clipping on it. If they should have any trouble establishing satisfactory connection please let me know

fraternally

Ross Dowson



February 3, 1964  
81 Queen Street W  
Toronto, CANADA

Walter Lippman Jr  
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Comrade;

I hope you have been receiving the paper and that the back issues gave you a better picture of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec which you were enquiring about. The leader of this party has just returned from a month stay in Cuba. We are looking forward to carrying some material on his impressions which we understand were very good. Many of the most responsible elements in this formation look to the Vanguard to familiarize the English speaking section of Canada with their viewpoint which certainly is to the left of the New Democratic Party.

Yes, the NDP does create a much more favorable atmosphere for radical views to get a hearing--despite the fact that the leadership carries on quite a red baiting campaign of its own. I am sure that the existence of the NDP particularly its Saskatchewan government gives the idea of a labor party in the US a better hearing.

Yes, we do have back issues of the Vanguard--right back to its first issue--all bound together. They are in a very nice volume that sells for \$7.50

Tom Morgan has just arrived here for a busy week in campus circles. We have already managed to obtain support for CABS from some top academic figures and if the week's efforts go well we will be able to move out onto the national arena.

SLP

fraternally

P. Kent

Montreal  
Duck

Feb 7/64

Feb 13/64

Carlton turned



Got your two articles and the various clippings some of which I think came from Bob. The article on the NDP brass' opposition to the PSQ is very good and is already into the printers. But alas I had to cut it. And I did not want to either. But you, for you know how small our paper is--forced me to. It over nine pages of copy and our whole paper is only 41. I was compelled in such circumstances to make a couple of big cuts--to take other than big ones would have ruined your style which I think is very good. I felt I had to cut the material towards the end ~~about~~ La Presse report and comments on the big wheel on the NDP platform and the youth and dynamism of the PSQ elements. Two other cuts one several lines and another just a couple were space but also editorial. That is good --JMB quoting James Connolly--but in my opinion we gain nothing with the comment off the high regard that Lenin had for Connolly. Among Leninists that good--good for the Gangnonites--but for NDPers across the country that not only puts the pox on Connolly but on JMB too. You will recall that part of the article that quotes the PSQ on the attitude of social democrats to their masters imperialism--- Mollet, etc. Well I cut out your generalization on SD that was tacked on. I thought the generalization too harsh for NDP readers we are going to really influence with the rest of your article.. Oh yes I knew there was a section I cut for the two editorial cuts only counted for a few lines. I cut out several lines from the Bedard speech--the ones which ended with the comment on democratic centralism---what he said there was also said earlier by the PSQ press release. W

Incidentally--dont worry about the picture the minutes give you of our financial situation. It is not good but we are far from going under and I think we have taken what actions are absolutely necessary. We will have to economize for a while and to have everyone meet their obligations. As for the other matter of the editor--really chicken shit of the same character as the handling of the mail. I will desist from commenting further

Vern told me of the phone call from MC. An excellent idea that V should be the other Canadian--absolutely logical--absolutely justifiable. No one else has near the qualifications--I would think anyone without a CP prejudice would understand. And we are in the fortunate position also of not only having a just cause but not having to worry too much about the effect of the oppositions support or none support. The CP has no real influence either with forces that would want to come to such a rally or with what few intellectuals who we could hope to get as sponsors. So our supporting even pushing for Vern cannot have any serious deleterious impact on the success of the congress. I hope that MC stands up to the inevitable opposition from FLAP and Co.

Your information re this congress came just in time for us to get a line on it. Of course the FLAP correspondence was completely misleading. Upon reading a copy of Vern's reply I was surprised that he had included some of the most negative comments we exchanged in the letter. Vern as possibly you know, more than others of us hates to move in and around phonies particularly Stalinists. It positively makes him sick and he cannot help but display it. His silence spoke volumes as I was suggesting to him over the phone that he should get in touch with Devine of Canada-Cuba to discuss some of the problems of getting sponsors--after all it would be absurd for us to both go after such persons as Mowatt and Dewart. Yes we all agree that there are tremendous possibilities here for us--for Fair Play.--- ~~and~~ Since no one here has had any experience in such a type of project we will have to exchange opinions closely.

I am surprised to hear that you have heard nothing from anyone in FP about Cuba Si. I enquired around and neither Vern nor Pat however have heard your opinion of the film, according to them. They can recall no correspondence. ~~Probably~~ Probably it was you who sent in the magazine containing the script. Bea and others have poured over it and worked out the translation. Pat had typed up good copies--one for the Metropolitan Film board---she intends to submit it to them to see if they will purchase a copy of the film for circulation through their library.



They have sent off a letter to the Montreal society enquiring about the price-- I understand it comes both 26 mm and 16 mm. Possibly someone has written you about all this activity following your actions.

Following ~~you~~ points in your letter of the 4th. We have taken no action against Malcolm. I had assumed from his letter that the fat was in the fire and wrote off an immediate reply that of course I was interested in reading that issue of Press. But I have not yet received a copy and I do not see what we can do until we see what he has actually done. Yes I agree with all that you say...Malcolm's contribution is in my opinion largely negative--he miseducated our youth. However the situation is not good out there despite all of Ernie's sterling efforts to make some examples. I talked to him some while back on several occasions about contributing to the Vanguard and ceasing to contribute to Press. It was hard for me to honestly urge him to contribute to the Vanguard for by and large he is a sectarian or at least easily falls into a sectarian posture. I tried to explain to him that even though it is not a serious opposition to the Vanguard Press is an opposition paper which disorients a few leftists who we could otherwise hope to influence. I recall that he suggested to me that to a considerable degree he contributed to it out of friendship of a personal kind with Young--then again he suggested to me that he was after all putting forward our viewpoint and while it had little readership it had some anyway. But the big problem is that we actually do not have a situation out there where we can lay down Bolshevik rules of conduct. Ernie is working that way but I must say he gets very little support--and anything that comes from Toronto is ~~xxx~~ always subject to the grossest suspicion. If Malcolm has done what he said he did ==yes we will move. I am waiting patiently for a copy of the Press and his reactions to the ~~xx~~ minutes.

Glad to see you got *Algerie dans Le Monde* out. Have noted your new box. Received an enquiry from our Chicago comrades--they are in contact with a professor who has written a couple of books on Algeria. I gave them your address and sent them a copy of *Algerie dans le monde* to pass onto him. Told them you have lots of literature. Don here sent another letter to Denise who has not yet replied to anything and I suppose it is too much to expect of her now. Don was proposing that we bring some of the Algerian films in--we could arrange to show them in several places in the Toronto area and it would give Denise a perspective. The other day I received a very nice letter from Pablo's wife--Helen Raptis. Thanked me for the clipping on the formation of the committee in Montreal from the Vanguard--said it would be published in the next issue. Unfortunately I cannot find the letter at this time but as I recall it it was written so as to suggest that my clipping and comment was the first that they had heard of it. Since the two professors whose names you sent didn't pan out--one considers Ben Bella has taken things too far--the other was only casually interested although Don is going to keep in touch with him--I have got Don to contact the World University outfit that is collecting books on the campus. Probably I will hear how he made out this coming Sunday. He is not an initiator but if we got something of a break in Montreal would do an effective carry on job I think. Well let's not make ourselves sick over it--of course there is only so much we can do

Nothing in the Militant on the last year LA conference--tomorrow I will check the Star files

Looking forward to your document on the operations of our forces there. A word--I would hope that such peripheral activities as FP and Algeria would be terrific training grounds for the league candidates that we have. Yes of course PSQ first. And we need the document on Fr Canada very badly--and I cannot see me doing much on this for a period--aside from the fact that you are the most able person to write it

re your letter of the 8th---Yes I will put a box on the front page on the



-----4

congress. I was speaking to Vern about MC and I would think that he has quite a different opinion of his degree of sophistication than either you or Julia have. Vern tells me that MC went out of his way to identify himself with him and to ridicule the CP for its policy on Algeria etc. Vern thinks he really knows the score about the CP.

Had a long discussion on strategy for the appeals--letters have gone in asking for the charges again, the right to have a lawyer, to have witnesses etc. It has been agreed that some need not go through the affair--Gould can't. Bob probably doesn't want to, Donny doesn't.

I must get to work on the paper again--got the insert in heads and all set for running--Castro's January speech making us into an eight pager. The previous week here was a big success with the Bloomington case. I suppose Jean has written you. The comrades really rose to the occasion and provided Tom Morgan with the biggest meetings he has yet addressed each one bigger. In the process it would seem to me that they have considerably changed the atmosphere on the campus. Both groups are planning for my debut late this month or early next month. A word on the teamsters. MacDougall proved as I had long thought to have a real base of support in that local--it is a conservative local. The surprise in the election I suppose was the strength of the Dougherty slate as compared to ours. Jimmy attributes this to the vicious read baiting that both carried on against us. Jimmy came out of the whole to do many heads higher--the leadership we had came from him and no one else. Dougherty and company are challenging the results but we have no serious reason ~~to think~~ to think that they are not generally accurate ---and they are talking also of leading a split-way--despite the fact that the elections show that MacDougall has powerful support. We will be re-evaluating our strategy in that local.

warmest regards

Ross

February 28, 1964

Montreal

Dear Bob;

Just a short note in response to your letter and book order of Feb 26

Enclosed you will find our statement. I think you will find it correct when you pick up the books at the Post Office Box. Felt it was best to mail them to that address rather than your apartment.

There are a few items short. I have put them on our order sheet and will send them on to you when we have them available. We are having to run off some more on the latest item on Cuba by Germain for instance.

I have sent you a few items that you did not ask for but which I am fairly certain you can put to very good use. I think that the best way to handle this consignment material is to charge you as with anything else but itemize them separately so that we do not anticipate that you push yourself to pay for them and so that we know what we are accepting as returns. Tell me if you think that it should be handled some other way.

Yes, the two cheques arrived and were noted. This weekend I will be going over the accounts and will send you a statement showing their receipt and how we stand all in all.

I will look up Cite Libre!!!! But more later.

fraternally

Ross



*Janet Carbo*  
February 28, 1964

Montreal

Dear Dick

Just a note before I get stuck in the store and in the hope that it gets to you before the weekend.

The Student brigade project is now well underway. A couple of days ago the word came through approving the project. There appears to be some minor points of misunderstanding, distinctly minor, and we are now in the process of straightening these out. So you will not have to feel out the possibility of our pushing them to the wall--of committing them.

Dave Middleton has grabbed hold of the situation --really inspired to work on this project. We could not have a more suited person. After a talk with Vern and a couple of our students re the time of the project, when to go and when to return etc Dave and I worked out a memorandum which will be submitted to Cruz next Friday. Dave is going to Ottawa with Sanchez. That means that by next week end we will in all probability be issuing a press release and the fat will be in the fire.

This seems to be to be a really important project--one that will get national and even international attention--a real peace corps from Canada. We will be sending about 24 students and I think that the response will be such that it will be a truly Canada wide representative body. And again I say with Dave in command--you see his army experience was not for not--I have complete confidence that we can really carry it off in fine style

I will be writing more over the weekend.

Everyone is impressed with the PSQ-NDP item

warmest regards

Globe and Mail coverage of the expulsion Ross A II Eh waht.



March 4, 1964.

Vancouver

Dear Ernie;

Sorry to be so long in taking up your two lengthy letters. As you will have gathered from the minutes of the PC I am a bit busier down here. Jerry got a job about 10 days ago--lost it and has another. Once we get things into a routine it will not take much more of my time but it is going to take several weeks to get a routine. As it is I now spend every morning until 12:30 in the store. But for the past two weeks and probably another I have spent considerably more time. Last Saturday I finally managed to arrange that Jerry and I go through the accounts. I was surprised to learn that there is not one major account that is not tied up. I cannot understand why Jerry let us drift drift drift. We should have taken action at least six months ago. He must have expected some kind of miracle to take place. About three or four months ago I had a feeling that things were not well and as you will recall raised it on the PC. But he only talked about people owing us money--really small potatoes. When I borrowed a couple of hundred dollars which took the pressure off a couple of accounts you would think that everything was fine.

All the accounts are tied up, locked up, but it is not as bad as it sounds--and should not become a matter of undue concern of the comrades. Actually a couple of hundred dollars would unlock a considerable number of them. And we have made two moves one of which will very soon start to show results. Cliff is on the ISA pay roll--so now with only me on the store we will have 50 a week clear--this soon becomes a large sum--and we will be out of the situation well before the summer. One of the unfortunate circumstances around the to-do is that we have not had a frank discussion about it. Jerry did not even cast his vote in favor of his going off the payroll when there was obviously no other serious alternative. Of course he did come down with a proposition that Cliff be dropped off the ISA. But my line was that we have no right to demand that the ISA drop its organizer who incidentally was elected to the post over Jerry's opposition, bitter opposition. The situation was absurd--I put forward my motion after a lengthy discussion that was leading nowhere--I did so with a statement that I would withdraw it if someone wanted to put forward any other motion. The discussion continued pitifully and then I called the question. In many ways the whole thing is good--I feel that Jerry has been really getting into a rut--into the petty routine of running a store and has been stagnating. An interesting sidelight is that Jerry would soon have had to ask for an increase as they are due to have another child sometime in June I think and could not possibly have lived on 50 dollars--all five of them. Of this he has never said a word. In the bag--just a few details need to be straightened out with the Ambassador. Dave Middleton of FPPCC is going to do all this. He will be a first. Incidentally how is your stock of literature? Have you got lots of everything? Has Jerry been sending you the odd sample copy of things of interest. Are you ordering from Pioneer for your own tracks. Are you picking up any other material from other sources? Re-the Deutscher book. It has been in short supply along. When the last shipment came in Cliff impetuously handed copies out to persons who has ordered them without considering priority--in the belief no doubt that there were plenty. But we are short again. If I am not mistaken we owe you for two copies. But I will be checking up on this in a day or so. We will send them on as soon as the next shipment arrives. To something really big. No doubt FPPCC will be contacting the Vancouver chapter very shortly. I hope that Phil responds. Of course we don't want our comrades convinced leftists going down. I want students who will be. Another matter I would like your opinion on. Jean Rands and Al Engler have seriously approached me with the proposal of it--going to Vancouver. You know them both I think, even if not too well. Both of them in their own right are leading attitude to the work will be very good and will serve as a good liaison for us.



comrades here. While Alan is much more vocal and considerably more knowledgeable Jean is an extremely able and dedicated comrade--probably the best woman comrade we have here. We have to find ways to allow her to develop politically--as it is now she takes on anything and everything and becomes sort of a work horse. They want to go in order to build up the YSF. Two of their closest friends will be going out there shortly after the school term ends --Sheila and John Steel--who as soon as they went to Minneapolis became real pillars of support for us there. I am not too sure how Alan will take to the type of rough and tumble atmosphere we have out there. He is quite an emotional man. But he has considerable energy and is a real builder. Very good with young people--very patient educator. He is a great speculator and sometimes expresses views that surprise me--but he is the most honest political that I know. Very open and frank about correcting his positions. As far as Toronto is concerned it will be a big loss but it won't at all be all loss as there are some excellent comrades here who will certainly move into the breach and will develop thereby. I think it would be a big gain for Vancouver for they are both as I have noted real party builders.

I have expressed general agreement, suggested they bring it up to the executive and that if it is all agreed that they make moves in this direction at once. Phil Probably the best thing would be for Alan to put in for a transfer at the RR. He probably won't get one as he has only been there six months. But go ahead to Vancouver almost immediately anyway. My impression is that the next few months are the best for Vancouver jobwise. He could go there and immediately set to job seeking. Possibly you could spare some of your space--but no matter--to put him up. He could immediately look for a job while Jean continued to work here so that he would have a bit of income. They certainly have no savings--we don't let anyone have savings. He could immediately start to get the feel of things there. Could see how he fits in, get to know the comrades and the work. Should he not get a job and I know that many times this is difficult out there and should he feel the situation inhospitable there he can always return without having burnt any bridges. I think this has some merit for he isn't quite the fighter that you are and sometimes is unduly sensitive. As soon as he gets a job and or makes up his mind Jean could go. I gather even though she has had limited office experience that things aren't bad that way there. If Alan gets work easily they are thinking that it would be good for her to go to WBC. Apparently her parents would finance it. Possibly you know her folks are very friendly to her politics---Stan is head of the Sask clinics and is a psychiatrist. The doctors fight was a big experience for him.

Let me know as soon as possible what you think of this proposition. Of course they could never take your place. And so you are still there but they may well give us the break that would put us in a position of greater flexibility.

Probably by this coming Sunday night there will be a public announcement of a student brigade going off to Cuba to work for the summer on hurricane damage projects. It is all but in the bag--just a few details need to be straightened out with the Ambassador. Dave Middleton of FPFCC is going to do all this. He will be a tremendous asset on this project. He will be sort of a chaperone. He is a former NDP candidate and one of the most medalled of Canadian army officers--a captain--retired. He will go in the first group and get everything underway. Without him I would have grave doubts about our ability to carry such a project out on a serious basis. With the public announcement will also come ads in the major campus papers asking for volunteers. I think we will get a great many applicants. I am hoping that we will be able to choose a couple from each of the major campuses. This will be a real Canadian Peace Corps and if we play our cards right blossom out to something really big. No doubt FPFCC will be contacting the Vancouver chapter very shortly. I hope that Phil responds. Of course we don't want our comrades and other convinced leftists going down. We want students who will be returning to their schools next year inspired by this project and in a position to influence others. We have one here who is able to go--a second year electrical engineer student who will do all the political work necessary and whose attitude to the work will be very good and will serve as a good liaison for Middleton with



the students.

Havent much more on the continental congress. Dick writes in a letter Feb 26 "There is not as yet any formal meeting scheduled for March. The delegates to arrange the details of the congress are going to be drifting in throughout that month. Hence he doesn't see the need to contact Cox at this time. Incidentally he stressed to me the point that he is from now on leaving the question of English Canadian participation completely up to us--to you--and he is only concerning himself with with international correspondence, participation of French-Canadians and physical details of the congress itself. He appears to have great confidence in us. My protestation that we had no experience in this sort of thing did not move him. He says he hasn't either, and that was that."

I will be having a talk with Vern on this matter. We are going to have to push our way in here

Got a lengthy letter from Reg on the problem of the Whitney group. He has forwarded us a copy of a letter that Whitney wrote to Peng a way back on November 11. Receipt of this has caused him to take up the whole matter again. He proposes that the PC should declare the episode closed,-----that "should any effort be made to elevate this on to the international level (by utilizing the facade of Peng and his associates in Canada) the IS should be informed that this is an internal organizational matter and ours alone to deal with." I am rather surprised at this letter as I thought that we had to all intents and purposes closed it. Whitney and company havent even recognized receipt of our letter to them and it looks like they never will. True I recently received a letter from Peng. Reg talks about "a member in Torontois engaged in a despicable intrigue." Jerry L has translated Peng's last letter and at the time told me that he had received a copy of Bill's letter--just a couple of weeks ago. At that time he told me that he thought that Whitney was sick. I will be writing Reg but I dont see what all the to do is.

Reg says he has an article on the shipyard strike. Good. I thought this last article was ok but much too long. Unfortunately he writes in such a style as to make it extremely difficult to cut---cut in the easy way. Every paragraph if you will take time to note is interwoven with the previous and the next so that you cant cut out a paragraph or two or three without rewriting which I do not care to do with Reg--he and Ruth are so finiky I shudder to think that I might make a grammatical error on something with their name on it. We cannot afford to give as much space as we did to the woodworkers struggle. Hope that he keeps the Ship yards item down to some reasonable length. And hope that he gives you the article to send in so that you can go over it and discuss with him if there is any need to. Surely he has time to drop an article in to you for mailing the next day or so.

Yes I think that you should write up some feature material for the paper. What do you have in mind. There are two items that come to mine right now. We should carry forward our contribution to the discussion in the NDP--that Cliff opened up two issues ago. We did not have space last issue. Now there is another item of importance. I dont het the Pacific Tribune (and anything you think wont be carried by the Cdn Tribune I would appreciate you sending onto me if only for loan.) But in the March 2 Cdn Tribune Buck has a lengthy article attacking the Chinese it is an all-out attempt to link them to Trotsky and his early mistaken struggle against Lenin. I think you should not be limited to news items and should take a shot at feature material. The only problem is that they need to be discussed and this is a bit awkward with you so far away. . Perhaps we should project a couple of feature items that we can use but for which there is no immediate pressure so that you could work up notes and we could discuss--polish up and submit and still give me time to discuss before having to publish. Generally speaking feature material has to be worked up here--we do need good news coverage from Van and Montreal. But neither you or Dick can be stuck with just that.



The deadline for the coming issue. HERE BY THE 16TH BY THE LATE LATEST. If you could let me know what you have in a short note in advance I would appreciate it.

But I must close off this note and pick up another to continue tomorrow.

affectionately

Ross

Yes. I really wanted to come out--I have felt it was almost essential but this chicken=shit money problem

March 5, 1964

Vancouver

Dear Reg;

Thanks for your letter of the 1st and enclosure

I see your copy of Bill W's letter has no date on it. It should be dated November 11, 1963. About a week ~~earlier~~ before I received the copy from you Jerry L here provided me with a copy. He did so when he gave me a letter from Peng along with a translation he made. At that time he mentioned that he had received a copy of a letter by Bill which he considered pretty sick or ~~in~~ words to that effect and when I asked him if I could see it with no intention of referring to it in anyway he turned it over to me. I had thought it was to Jerry personally and not to Peng.

I am not sure who you refer to as a "member in Toronto (who) is engaged in a despicable intrigue." I would suppose it is Jerry but I do not know in what way he is involved. My impression was upon my return and my telling him what happened that he agreed with the procedure that the convention adopted. ~~And I do not know that he holds any other opinion now.~~ And I do not know that he holds any other opinion now. My impression is that he is sick of Bill's maneuverings and in fact would prefer to be relegated to the status of sympathizer in the movement which more accurately reflects his level of participation. I am quite confident that he has done nothing in our circles down here ~~for some time~~ to support or even apologize for Whitney and company.

I have not yet answered Peng's letter which I see is dated Feb 13. I sent a report of our handling the matter to the United Secretariat--right after I had written Bill a letter telling him that any future approaches would have to be made through the center here. It was fairly detailed as I knew that Peng was quite concerned. But I never received any response to it. It is possible that Peng has not seen it and I must check this. Of course the U.S. has much bigger matters than this to deal with. But I don't think that it is just a matter of relative importance. I am inclined to believe that they consider this to be a matter that is to be resolved by us.

It is possible that the November 11 Whitney letter was a last gasp effort for we here have received no response whatsoever from them to our correspondence a copy of which I forwarded to the branch as information. It would seem to me that if anything is to be done there would have to be some opening moves from Whitney. Peng would not I think initiate anything from his end without something coming from BC. I have in mind asking Peng to look up my correspondence to the U.S. and to make whatever comment he cares to on this.

~~THEY HAVE NOT YET~~ THEY HAVE NOT YET ~~VERY GOOD~~ VERY GOOD ~~THEY HAVE NOT YET~~ THEY HAVE NOT YET

You suggest that the P.C. declare the episode closed--that the maneuver be characterized for what it was and Peng and the U.S. be so informed. Well it seems to me that that is just about where it stands. We have heard nothing from Whitney who has been informed that the next moves are up to him and have to be made through the center. And we have heard nothing from the U.S. That means it is pretty well closed it seems to me. This of course is not to stop Peng from taking it up if he desires but I think that I know what the attitude of the US will be.

I was glad to get your article last issue. Although I felt that it was overlong considering the material. ..almost 4 1/2 pages of copy. I would have liked to cut ~~some of it~~ it down by about a page. All the more in that I was anticipating an article on the shipyard strike. However I found it almost impossible to do so without rewriting a part of it because of its interlocking style. Each paragraph referred to the previous one and in turn was referred to in the next. A devilish style for editors --particularly when the person with the by-line is such an expert grammarian

Glad to see you are sending in something on the shipyard strike. I do not know at this time what Ernie is thinking of sending in

So it appears that Malcolm was pulling our leg when he wrote of Press ~~or~~ carrying something on the YSF and its being stolen by the East. No doubt he fussed and fumed about the mention in the minutes but I think that did no harm.

I am wondering if you have been able to keep in contact with Angus. I have failed miserably. The main reason is time but there is also the devilish complexity of the situation out there and ~~my~~ ~~very~~ superficial acquaintance with the cast. I was very favorably impressed by his participation in the discussion we had when I was ~~not~~ there for the convention. I felt that his positions were very sound and that he was highly respected by the various comrades who were showing ~~little~~ respect for one another in general at the time.

That is excellent material that Brock is sending in to the Vanguard. He has made great progress in contacting various people and now with ~~Dick~~ Bob Horn's aid we are on the verge of constituting some forces. Dick is somewhat reluctant due to the fact that at this stage it would be composed of English speaking elements. He fears that we will get so focused as to create a barrier for ourselves with the key French Canadian circles, with which we are close contact. However I think there is little danger as long as we have a sensitive orientation on the national question there. We have sent them down a first rate mimeograph machine so that they can put out leaflets etc of their own and we are importing the major writings of the oldman in French which along with other literature is providing them with a good stock for contact work.

What do you think of a couple of the youth comrades heading out your way to give a hand there. Alan Engler and Jean Rands are talking about it. Alan and Jean of course are leading activists here. Their leaving is a serious drain on Toronto strength however there are quite a few very good comrades who I think will immediately move in to fill the gap. They would gain a good experience in Vancouver and I think would be a big help particularly in the youth field. Nothing definite yet but the talk is serious.

There is much to take up but I am booked to speak tomorrow night--it is 10:30 now I am in the store tomorrow morning and I haven't started on the speech. So I must close off for now

fraternally

Ross Dawson

There will be a bulletin out very shortly on the unfortunate developments with Pablo in the International. Fortunately World Outlook has cemented things firmer than ever and the split will be miniscule. Good news from Chile. CPers who split on the Sino-Soviet dispute and have moved in our direction, ex Trotskyists and our forces along with Alst have launched a new and very promising formation.



March 10, 1964

Montreal

Dear Dick

Just a few words to let you know that we are still here and that you are coming in strong.

I have received the interview with Chartrand and also Dubuc's article. I have not had time to read Dubuc--have read through the Chartrand interview once and it looks very good to me.

In so far as I have set a deadline it is next Monday. I gave this to Ernie and to Cliff. Haven't had a chance to work out the paper--in fact last night I only managed to get up to date with the daily press. We are trying to do about fifty things right the last week or so--handle the expirations of the Vanguard which can best be done when we have our excellent and impressive last issue, get the peace corps underway--Middleton is here for constant and detailed consultation--worked out the press release this afternoon--the opening shot in a campaign which he insists in mapping out as a military operation. Helped Marilyn with the Chartrand leaflet for the NDP rally--Shlink doesn't seem to be very well organized. Then of course I have pretty well taken over the store, accounts and all. I want to leave Cliff as free as possible to function as branch organizer and when he is in the store to do things that he must do in that field.

Gord was in a week or so and last weekend Art came in, to escape from his school work and mix with the comrades. They are having a big success with the Algerian book campaign in Waterloo and through some connections that Toni has with the book trade we may end up with a colossal donation of technical books. Art is working on this. His TV interview he thinks was a real success. Gord through a 100% that he has come across and worked up was able to hold a very impressive meeting for CAES on his campus.

And now we have an 89 page International Internal Bulletin to put out on the dispute with Pablo. I am pushing John to set himself the objective of having the typing finished by the coming Monday night.

Your information on the internal situation in the PSQ takes me by surprise. I had no inkling that there was such a sharp division. I suppose we just have to cover this for the paper. ~~My own opinion~~ At one time I was worried about your getting your school term--what with all these interesting developments pressing in on you--but now I have another worry--that you are not going to leave the editor any space to get his own by-line in the paper. On both counts I think you might consider holding the material on Bill 54 over. Nothing on this in the press here.

I suppose you know Chartrand is coming this way for the 19th and 20th. But you don't know that Malcolm on the basis of the note in the EC minutes has sent a long and tortuous letter of resignation from the NC--which all in all I think is highly satisfactory. And did you know that Alan and Jean are planning to go to Vancouver shortly. I think this is a good idea--Vancouver is quite weak and we have a good group here out of which will rise new elements to fill

I hop all goes well with both you and Bob and your interpersonal relations. Did he get all the stuff I sent to the Box? I have mailed under separate cover to the box a copy of the new FPCC pamphlet that Toni worked on. Quite impressive I think. Also enclosed a clipping from the Star of last Saturday's column by Offbase--an acquaintance of yours. A ridiculous vicious attack on us. The only thing is that possibly only about 600 of the Star's Saturday edition readership will get many of the points. A real demonstration of how insanely anti-Trotskyist the Star is. It is hard to understand an editor who would let such an item appear in his paper.

Speak ing at York on Thursday on WHEN SOCIALISM COMES TO CANADA.

But I must away---it is 12:10

warmest regards

Ross

Good news from Zanzibar eh.....



March 16, 1964

Dear Peter

Last Friday Varsity of the U of T carried the following ad--Help wanted in cuba, volunteers disembarking this summer from Montreal for six weeks to repair Hurricane Foo Flora damage and promote peace--enquire FPCC Box 923 Adelaide Street P.O. Toronto.

I hear from the comrades that you have been doing some very good--it was always good--but now successful work in the last while. I never met your associates who it appears came to a social affair and spent some considerable time with our YSFers a couple of weekends ago. But I hear that they are excellent types. What is the possibility of getting one or two of them to answer this ad? This is really a big opportunity for us it seems to me--it can have national and even international repercussions

The Cuban government has agreed to make facilities on its boats that call in Montreal for 24 university students to leave here either on June 15th or thereabouts and July 15. They will be transported down to Cuba, assembled and given some projects which will allow them to make a positive contribution. They will be returned in time for school opening. The late starting time will allow some students who will have to make something for their tuition to work for a period.

The committee is concerned that the participants be drawn from as many different campuses as possible. They will probably decided this evening to put ads in the Carleton U paper if it is not too late. I am sure you know a couple of young people who would really learn something there and could be counted upon on their return to speak up wherever they had an opportunity to tell the truth about the Cuban achievements. We are of course anxious that it not be presented with any plausibility as some kind of Trotskyist deal. There will only be two and at the most three from Toronto here--one of them possibly Hans Modlich who perhaps you know. The "chaperone" will be David Middleton who is a real jewel for this project.

Why not speak to a couple of the very best student youth that you know and urge them to write into FPCC for full particulars.

The press announcement on this project was not picked up by any of Toronto's dailies but was carried over the air by radio.

warmest regards

Ross D

March 19, 1964

Brian Slocock  
1305 Decarie Blvd, Apt 11  
Montreal Que.

Dear Comrade Slocock

No doubt you will have received your book order by the time this letter comes to hand.

Unfortunately we have been compelled to back order Marx's Critique of Political Economy. With all the various ~~formations~~ of Marx's writings that are now available there is little call for this volume and we overlooked our shortage in our last order to Charles Kerr who now have the only edition available. We will send you a copy along as soon as the order arrives.

I have also not sent you the last edition of the Fourth International that we happen to have---it is the world congress edition and I think you might already have it or that Bob Horn has a copy available. The latest one--the English version that has to come from Ceylon has not arrived yet. I have back ordered it too.

Slipped in a copy of the latest Chinese pamphlet which I felt you would like to have.

fraternally

P. Kent

360

Credit

This leaves you with a 3.60

P. Kent



March 20, 1964

Montreal

(F)

Dear Dick

The main purpose of this note is to return the interview that you had with Chartrand.....return it so that you can do a bit of work on it, ~~and then~~ I think it is an excellent job and regret very much that we are not running it in the Vanguard. But it seems to me after hearing Chartrand speak last night at the FPCC that we will have to turn it over to them for the pamphlet that Fair Play plans. The changes required need only be modest ones. For instance the ending is obviously excellent for the March-April issue of Vanguard but the pamphlet will have to have a longer life expectancy--remain lively for 6 to 8 months at least--long after the continental congress has passed out of memory of all but a few. Perhaps. As you go through it you will note other odds and ends that should be changed--for instance Comrade Chartrand. You might think to make it a little more colourful with---- Chartrand leaned forward to emphasize----he shrugged----his eyes sparkling he d.. "Chartrand began" starting the second paragraph is a little abrupt. I would think what changes are necessary can be done without spending very much time as I say the article is actually excellent. You don't need to drop everything but next time you have a little time to spare send it back and we will get it set. I think John R's contribution is all set and Vern must surely have his almost ready. So now we have a hole in this Vanguard which will put us back date wise with it.

I managed to attend the Chartrand meeting last night--about 80 people turned out--the G & M ad was consciously buried so there was really no publicity other than what we gave it and the FPCC mailing---this was obvious in the attendance---we were the backbone. It was obvious that Chartrand is an able speaker--able technician--a popular orator. But it was a rambling, directionless and uninspired performance--really boring. All the speeches that our comrades have given were more interesting and stimulating. In many ways he is inferior in my opinion to Cox. Cox relates the Cuban revolution to the Canadian in the most direct way--and he speaks as a materialist and a worker. Chartrand's approach it seems to me is much more superficial and emotional. If he relates it to the Quebec scene he certainly doesn't to the rest of Canada. He constantly rhapsodizes about Quebec and dismisses the rest of Canada. This was taken up by several of the questioners who, in turn, in our ~~English-Canada~~ ~~English-Canada~~ which is a demonstration of the beginning and possibility of the Canadian revolution one after another dismissed or were highly critical of the possibilities of doing anything in English-Canada. He certainly wasn't speaking to this audience--but to it would seem to me a much more popular one such as listened to his radio or TV broadcasts. It was startling to hear him say that Cuban unions were as democratic as Canadian and US unions.

It will be interesting to see how the attendance will be at the York University meeting. Yesterdays Varsity meeting was completely under control of the NDY club leadership and one can only conclude that they sabotaged it--only 20 to 30 turned up. Bill and John of course took over at York and I think this will be much bigger. You know the Chartrand tour is entirely of our making. The NDY is the public sponsor of the meeting in Carpenters Hall tonight but they did damn all to make it a success. We were deprived of the party membership lists and our people had to push and strain finally delivering up leaflets to club secretaries who we hope will do their duty

by circulating it. We are in the peculiar position of not being responsible for and successes but not responsibility for any failures other than the belief that



if we did all the work we might be able to push these people into doing even a tiny bit and help the working class movement forward a bit.

Received the item on the PSQ split and turned it over to the printer pretty much ~~not~~ as was. Very good item. Big problems confronting the PSQ. A real crisis of leadership. I only hope that my impressions from a single isolated meeting are quite erroneous as to Chartrand's qualities. It is indeed tragic that they haven't got a second issue of the paper out--it seems to me that this was Michel's first task upon his return. Possibly the new leadership with its increased trade union ~~not~~ weight will start to come to grips with the problem of building a movement

Bob has only been sending the odd short note in--money for books, for the financial drive--requests for a couple of items and that is all. Your report of his recent successes in the union field are really impressive all the more in the light of his temperament. To do that job that he has done requires mountains of patience suffering harassment withstanding provocations. All of which shows us--those of us who know Bob's temperament what tremendous determination and dedication he has. He writes nothing of all this--his note of March 18 has scrawled across the bottom -- "nothing new lately."

Why the hell shouldn't you be in this field. You are young, aside from a few turns in the summer you have moved almost entirely in academic circles, you haven't had the privilege of even being in a good factional fight and besides you have drunk heavy from TV and radio. What you want to do is read a little Balzac. And of course no one needs to prescribe getting older and experienced

Glad to hear about the meeting last week. What is it --a study group on the way to an ISA branch. Is it a study group that will lead in a general way to an ISA branch or a more direct presentation of what the ISA is. Sooner or later you will have to invite me down. There is a CLC convention right ahead but the way things are going here right now--while I would like to take advantage of it it doesn't look good.

I had hoped to get this off to you Friday night but here it is Saturday afternoon. The York meeting, and the NDY meeting has come and gone. The York meeting was the most successful it appears all ways. Over thirty turned out and Chartrand according to Bill was good. The NDY meeting was a "Scandale." I would say that there were only slightly more than one hundred there. Apparently we had the entire NDY mailing list--they did not respond. The Vanguard Forum and the FPFC people constituted I would say 75% of the audience. The NDP was there is the person, one person--of a fellow by name of Renwick I guess--apparently their spetz on "bi-culturalism" (what a stinking word) he made an unsolicited contribution along the line that we have to stick together--he picked up Michel's anti-Americanism to make an historical sketch of how our nation ~~not~~ was forged, was due entirely to pressure from U.S. There were a couple of sectarians there--SPCers--who might have given Michel a bit of a feeling that he missed the whole point for he did not in any depth deal with any aspect of the question including the progressive aspect of the nationalist sentiments of the Quebecois. But Harry K came through followed up by John ~~that~~ say exactly what was necessary to say. The first questioner ~~the~~ nationalist movement including Michel tonight with ~~not~~ so loaded is Michel's speaking with ~~not~~ without positive development



Last night I was of course not anxious to move around him for he was slated to stay at Endicott's place. When I was up there Claire was speaking at considerable length with him in French and alas I do not really know what was being said but I have a feeling that in some way she was carrying a line that Levesque is a progressive. I would be interested very much to know his impressions of the whole to-do. We distributed the issue with Dubuc's contribution to the meeting. From what I hear he was treated shabbily by Endicott. It appears that he had to make his way Friday morning up to York U by himself. And this morning he had to take the street car out to Vernts. He appears to have considerable respect for Vern.

There are of course other matters. But I must leave off

warmest regards

Ross

March 22, 1964  
81 Queen Street W  
Toronto, Ont.

Gustavo Tolentino  
Montreal

Dear Companero Gustavo

Thanks very much for your renewal to the Vanguard and your order of pamphlet material by Joseph Hansen. The amount you sent permitted us to send all that comrade Hansen has written on Cuba. I only just now remember that he has another pamphlet still in print called Too Many Babies--dealing with the population explosion--so-called. Of course Hansen writes considerable material--most of which appears either in the Socialist Workers Party weekly THE MILITANT or the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Have you seen either of these periodicals. If you have not I am sure that Dick Fidler would be pleased to loan you a few copies which may cause you to decide to subscribe to them. Hansen also writes in World Outlook--a labor press service published in Paris, France. Dick also received this and would be pleased to let you look over his file.

Did you know that the authorities have recently arrested Hugo Blanco's sister in the process of a big round-up of revolutionaries. The next issue of our paper will be carrying reports of the increasing struggles to move in on the land. Unfortunately I have never seen any detailed material on Blanco's actual processes of work or for that matter Julia's. There are articles touching on it. Hansen had a lengthy interview with Julia when he was on a South American tour a couple of years ago. A recent issue of Revolution carried an article on Julia. I am sending you a copy of both ~~books~~. You can send me the 75 cents for the Revolution next time you write. I don't doubt that information of this type on Blanco's work is available and will be published shortly--in fact I will send your request along to World Outlook as a suggestion.

Thanks you for your good wishes. I am looking forward to meeting you. I am expecting to go to the Montreal continental congress so if you don't manage to make it up here we will meet in Montreal.

with revolutionary socialist greetings

Ross Dowson



March 22, 1964  
81 Queen St West  
Toronto

Dear Bob H O R N with no EEEEEEEEE

It is a tough fight to keep this record right but probably this incident has peirzed through.

Got your very welcome contribution to the financial drive and am enclosing the receipt. What do you think of thepossiblity of spreading the task a bit for instance Tolentino wrote us a very warm letter expressing appreciation of the work we are doing asking for everything by Hansen and information on the work of Blanco and Julius. It would seem to me that he might be good for say \$25.00. Perhaps Slocock too. Sent in a long book order the other day-- but perhaps he is a student and hard pressed for funds. Well you know far better than I do as to who might be approached.

Hope that this 40 bucks doesn't leave you in too straightened circumstances not that we dont need the money. But I hear that you got fired from your job after organizing the shop you were in--that everything is now before the board but itlooks certain that the certification will come through. Congratulations. Is that what "nothing new lately" scribbled on the bottom of your March 18 note means. Good god how am I going to tell when we have to really co-ordinate the struggle in Montreal with Toronto. Fortunately we have an agent in touch with you who probably overhears bits and snatches and peices them together. Our agent Dick is tremendously impressed of course am am I. And now he tells me that you are being moved forward via Boileau and Steel into bigger things. I hear also that we are having meetings of some type that may well result in a multiplicity of agents so that we can anticipate being able to follow your efforts regardless.

You say "I shall order five copies" of the Marx philosophical and sociological writings . I take it that that is sort of pre notofication to be affirmed later so am doing nothing. But when you asked for the Spanish material well I thought the Lenin item of some value. Unfortunately the really important LT pamphlet Spain, the last warning-is now out of print. But I think that you will find Morrow's two pamphlets of considerable value. Would you return this as soon as you are through with it as there is always a slow but consistant demand for it. Pleased to supply you things from the Toronto library here any time you ask not to speak of my own library. Sorry but I took for granted that you were aware that the Serge autobiography was only available in cloth. Send it back as long as no one has worked over it. I have placed your hard order for the Marx writings on our back order list for you. The bookstore is still very tight and you have hit one of our accounts that happens to be frozen--will be for two or three weeks.

Chartrand has come and gone. I have sent Dick a letter in which I comment on the meetings along with clippings from the Star and G & M. While he had little time on either ocassions he saw Vern as soon as he came in and saw just prior to leaving. He was treated somewaht shabbily by the NDP and NDY who we had to turn him over to. Needless to say behind the scenes we did all the work. The NDP sabotaged the meeting and the New Democratic youth--well it seems that it has damna little to mobilize.

But I am a way behind in my many duties and will have to write more later

warmest regards



April 2, 1964

Dear Dick

Well there isn't exactly a deadline for the Chartrand interview. Vern is I think having some trouble with his contribution. However I have just panned him and convinced him of the necessity of setting a deadline....and so we have now done so and it would be good if you could meet it--it is far enough away I think for what little has to be done to your material. Vern has agreed to setting it at April 15th. It will take a couple of weeks to get the pamphlet through the cover stage, and the printer and it would be nice to have it in our hands on May Day.

Today I mailed a couple of copies of the Internal Bulletin(International) to the box--we have released it through the Canadian movement. We did so only last night so there has been no discussion of any kind yet among the comrades. It is possible that it will serve only as information material and there will be no formal discussion even on the branch plane here in Vancouver. The matter is well documented I understand that Pablo has now commenced publication of an internal bulletin. Hard to explain his actions. Quite hysterical--certainly not the actions of anyone who hopes to convince anyone at all of his views. It seems certain that he will finalize it all at the United IEC meeting. It seems to me that the world movement is knit together better than it has ~~ever~~ been for many years--mainly due to the work of World Outlook. His defection will hardly cause a ripple--but of course it will be seized upon by our opponents--and there~~x~~ repercussions in Algeria itself would seem to me to be a matter of considerable concern.

No I had heard no word about the congress and visas for the delegates. Possibly Sanchez intends to tell me but they owe us about \$300 right now and I know he is embarrassed about not bringing it around. I haven't seen him for several weeks. Dave was over to see him about 10 days ago and accidentally asked him if he had anything for me and Sanchez immediately went into apologies about money which of course Dave wasn't thinking of at all. Yes I agree that we should continue on as if nothing at all ~~has~~ is going to happen. This means that Chartrand ~~and~~ should find excuses for making publicity releases--give the papers something to keep the pot boiling. Any angles that you think we can work should be forwarded so that the Vanguard can keep the pot boiling. Haven't seen anything in the Tribune but I have only been scanning it lately. Did n't even see the dirty attack in the last issue until Dave told me about it and asked if I was going to sue them. The March 30 issue reproduced a column by the PT editor in which he says that we are financed by the big monopolies to keep the disrution factories running full capacity.

Since you are pressed for time with regards to writing up the student march on Quebec I would suggest that you write it up as fully as possible then send the material in and let the editor of the YSF and also the editor of the Vanguard do what they want with it. I do not see that we will have any difficulty over this--the comrades all understand. Mail it to YSF and tell them the circumstances asking them to show it to me after they are done with it.

Boy I am glad we have that committee. If I am not mistaken I suggested it so that it would permit students to put forward their name without compromising themselves. To be chosen by the committee which has been red baited to death in the States and widely Trotsky baited in Canada is not too good it seems to me--but to be chosen by a wide committee composed of highly respected academic figures removes any stigma from been selected. Dave was interviewed over CBC yesterday--it went on the 7 o' clock news. He was asked a question right along that line even despite the selection committee. ..it was something along the line of the Trotsky wing of the NDP choosing the candidates ---he parried it with an amusing but of double-talk.



This is going to be a big success. We missed getting ads in the campus papers so there has been a delay in responses but there are already about 40 applicants and I think we can expect over 100 at least. As to be anticipated ~~maxima~~ the old pressure is at work. Committee supporters are recommending persons who they think should get special consideration---A Trevor somebody in Windsor--Vanguard carried a few of his letters on Cuba put in a mighty big plug for his son. Someone else on the executive here is recommending a youth who will be on campus next year, the Ambassador has strongly recommended someone, Cox has too although they may be the same. Practically none of these people are campus youth but but but. This little old committee is going to save us all--it is going to absolve us of responsibilities that persons who should know better are thrusting upon us.

We really do want this tour to be broadly representative of the Canadian student youth. 24 is not very many and by the time you have one or two persons from every campus then more from the major campuses and then more too from Quebec there is not too much room to maneuver. Berks has applied, Hans has applied so has Sonya in Vancouver so I think that we will be ok--a little risk but I am hoping that the main impact of this tour will be on the national consciousness, not on the LSA. in so far as they are separate. This is something that can be parleyed into something really big. Dave is in many ways ideal. He doesn't have much initiative--I had to take time out to work up the press release that gave us this latest break but with it in hand he moved--he has brass--largely stemming from naivete

I will try to make it to the CLC convention. Unfortunately the store is in such bad shape that it is taking a considerable amount of time--more than just my mornings. This jockeying of what little funds we have is time consuming and the accounts themselves are in appalling bad shape. How Jerry could continue to sit on this situation I do not know. We were in a tight situation and should have made some moves I figure at least back in August. When I think back about it it is almost amusing how the situation came to be revealed--we might have coasted on a couple of more months. Now at least we are saving \$250 a month. Sales for the past month have held up with the last two, the financial drive money is going to give us a bit of maneuver ability and I am hoping that things will ease up considerably by the summer. But that is the main question mark about the CLC convention. It would be quite a tax on Cliff who is working quite hard as it is. I really doubt that I will make it much as I would like to see you and Bob and our contacts too. This convention doesn't seem to me to be a very crucial one. But don't count it out--we will see

Havent had a chance to even open the LSSP pamphlet but sent it along in the chance. I have a couple more at hand and will be sending them with the next look order. You should ask 50 cents for them. I am ordering 25 more from Ceylon but that will take some considerable time so you will have to husband what we have. I will make a point of reading it as soon as possible. If it takes almost no time why yes write us a review of it. I agree with all your arguments why we should

Yes I will write about the duplication of the French papers going to your box

But I must close off

warmest regards

Ross



April 6, 1964

Art Gray  
Cobalt

Dear Art;

Glad to receive the proxy statement and notice of meeting issued by International Nickel. Yes they do look after their own after they drop out of things --not that when they were in that they didn't look after themselves. Hard to see what Wingate could possibly do with 76,000 retirement when his remuneration was 219,000 a year. Truly the mythical wealth of Croesus and the rajah's was as nothing compared to one of these and neither do they reap nor do they spin....

And thanks too for your contribution. We are in the midst of our annual financial drive--we are out for the largest objective yet--\$4,000 and every bit helps. You can be sure that it will be put to excellent use.

Glad to read your comments about Algeria. I know from just having overheard it that there are tremendous mineral resources there. If I am not mistaken I recall hearing that they are making a serious attempt to develop iron deposits. It would be a tremendous experience to go to Algeria. There was a very fine French film shown over CBC TV a couple of weeks ago. The interviews with elected managers of some of the large farms were really inspiring --one of the managers had worked on the same farm under the ownership of a French colon and now they were working it for themselves. Perhaps you saw it. They showed some shots of the peasant congress which we reported in the Vanguard too.

Of course the problems are terrific--the economy was left in chaos, with a tremendous shortage of technicians of all kinds. They have no capital. The congress I attended there last summer set up an aid committee. Why don't you write them--offering them your services. That is if you are interested other than taking some kind of trip and look-around, which itself would be worthwhile. If you write be sure you do so in French. I don't think any offer would get the consideration it deserved unless it was in French--even though anyone with a bit of effort could pick up sufficient French to be useful. The address to write to is

Bureau national pour l'assistance non gouvernementale  
26 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi, Alger, Algerie.

But no sooner have I written this down when I think that it would be a good idea to write to the Canadian committee in Montreal. Your interest might have a perk up effect on them--and they could forward it. The Montreal Address is

Association Quebec-Algeria, Case Postale 99, Succursale N  
Montreal 18, Quebec . There is no Algerian consulate

or Embassy in Canada. The closest Algerian representative is in New York at the U.N. You of course are right about the strategic importance of Algeria for the African revolution. Probably you know that the Angolese revolutionary movement is openly training its armies in Algeria. And the anti-neo-colonialist struggle in Algeria is certain to have an effect against neo-colonialism elsewhere in Africa.

Looking forward to seeing you when you are in this area again

fraternally

Ross Dowson



April 7, 1964

Montreal

Dear Bob; (Horn? - R-, -S-?)

I have received your letter addressed to the PC proposing that the LSA direct~~ing~~ an appeal to the Communist Party of Canada. I will arrange for a meeting of the PC this coming weekend to discuss this proposition and take a decision on it.

A few words of my own which you might care to take up in the next day or so so that we would have a clearer idea of what you see it as actually involving.

No doubt you have noticed that the last issue of the Vanguard not only carried the material that you wish to have reproduced on a leaflet dealing with developments in Chile but it also carried an item on a somewhat similar development in Peru. The Chilean article in Vanguard even went further and reproduced information on the crisis in other Latin American parties again pointing out any conciliatory tendency that these tendencies show to Trotskyism.

Since the Vanguard carries even more impressive material than just the one article you would reproduce I am wondering if we would not achieve our purpose best by merely my sending you a bundle for distribution.

But perhaps it is not direct enough--for your added comment would direct it specifically to the CP. I am wondering if this is even desirable however. The merger in Chile and the bloc in Peru of course doesn't involve the CP--it involves dissidents. In the case of Chile persons who broke in a Maoist direction and then even pulled away from the Maoist tendency for it being Stalinist, old and not concerned with the real issues of the class struggle in Chile and incapable of building a revolutionary party. The group in Brazil which solidarizes itself with Blance is also a breakaway from the Prestes CP.

c Right now we are in collaboration with a dissident CP group in Vancouver. Their leading spokesman a Jack Scott (not of Cuba fame) apparently is having great difficulty restraining them from pulling completely out of the CP, not bothering to even make a token political struggle such as we have been trying to convince them to do. They are not at all interested in the CP even though they were all in it a short while ago and possibly are still in it (until next week eh) How would they interpret an appeal to the CP--to the party, to the leaders of that party. This would be a matter of important consideration, for our appeal is really to them. or you might say persons who might be like them in other sections of the party for instance the students you mention.



There are a couple of other matters to consider.

This is an appeal from who-to the CP? The LSA doesn't even exist in Montreal--who would they contact, how would they contact them. What factor are they to even consider? I think that this is quite an important matter

Then there is the question of our main orientation and what it does to it--how it will be interpreted by those who we are most concerned about...the PSQ, the youth group--the NDP and its youth group.

Generally as you have no doubt noticed we have paid little attention to the CP in the Vanguard. One of the reasons is of course that it would cut across our whole NDP orientation, playing into the hands of the right wing who are always anxious to characterize us as some kind of Communist. When we have thought it necessary of course we have ~~mentioned~~ mentioned out across this. Another reason is that generally speaking there is nothing in the CP for us. The YCL just doesn't exist in Toronto or anywhere else. The CP itself scarcely exists. You know we cannot even find any place except perhaps in Montreal now where we can meet them, even distribute them. Their Bert Whyte meeting--an important one you would think had less than 50 in attendance. Wait until you read the next issue of the Vanguard with an article by Ernie based on information gleaned from their internal bulletins (pre-Convention). One person writes in the IB that in Vancouver "sixteen clubs in the city, with over half having from 25 to 40 members, the turn out at general membership meetings has been only 40 members with some of the clubs not having a representative present."

I would appreciate it if you would find time to comment on the above before the weekend. Would you also show it to Dick when you have a chance.

Sorry but we have no copies of the 4th International around. We sold the last copy of the World Congress issue to Pat Walsh last week and the new one long due now has not arrived yet. Will take note.

Nothing much on the CP congress here. Apparently the BC left didn't even bother to send a delegate--too bad. Nearly all the session was closed and I have met no one who can give us any inside dope. I suppose you saw the item in the Tribune on the Ukrainian Academy's anti-Semitic tract. Gollan (Br) denounced, Gus Hall (US) denounced it sight unseen but the Canadian CP tabled the matter until it could obtain a copy for examination. The average age in the CP is 58.

Your response tremendous--well over the 100 mark--little from Montreal though. Cuba Si came off well--about 250 turned up. How are the Algerian films that fellow has?

warmest regards

Ross



Bob (S) Montreal  
April 15, 1964

Dear Edith (S)

Dick told me that he had heard from you on the 13th. He phoned me immediately and has affirmed what he recalls of your conversation in a letter today. Needless to say we are seriously concerned about Bob's whereabouts. I gather you think that he might be on the next boat coming into Montreal. ~~Bob~~ Dick has checked on this and I gather from his note that it will not be in until today or tomorrow. He has ~~xxx~~ promised to phone me just as soon as the boat gets in. He will be there as soon as it docks to see if Bob is on it. If he is we will discuss the whole matter by phone and decided what might be done about it. If he is not Dick will as he has promised wire Debby immediately. We will also discuss what we can do about it from here. Perhaps we will contact Herridge who has identified himself as a friend of the Cuban revolution, who is respected by the Ambassador, and who as a Canadian ~~parliamentary~~ parliamentary figure is in a position to demand some answers ~~from the Cuban government~~. We may be powerless to stop them from kicking him out of Cuba although this concerns us too in so far as it effects his reputation as a friend of the Cuban revolution aside from the personal discomfit it has caused him and your emotional anxiety. But we certainly cannot allow them to hold Bob. I take it for granted that you have done all that you can at your end and that you have somehow found out that he is not being held but is on the boat in all probability. If he proves not to be on the boat, I gather that you will be able to do what is necessary to find out where he is, and demand that he be brought before ~~xxx~~ whatever bodies exist there that govern visitors and immigrants and that they either release him right there and then or give good cause why he should be shipped out of the country. I do not see why we would have to go to any Canadian government authorities there in Cuba. I assume our friends there such as N have been of help to you.

By all means let us know what is happening and what you think we should do. We will keep you informed from this end just as soon as things happen. But ~~xxxxxx~~ we have decided at this end to make no further moves until we find out if Bob is on the boat. I assume this is agreeable to you and jives with your line of action since you have not asked us to do anything.

You will have got the letter I sent Bob mailed to your old address thanking him for sending us the copies of Hoy containing Castro's comments at the trial and the two set of the Elías Roca Attacks on the old man at Brest Litovsk. In the letter that Bob sent along with this material he said nothing about his situation. Today we received another letter from Bob. It came to us he says through a Canadian who mailed it when he arrived in Canada. This letter appears to have been turned over before the other one we received but Bob asks that we acknowledge receipt. In this letter he tells of meeting Castro and his struggle with immigration authorities.

I hope you have funds to tide you over the next immediate period until we see just where things stand. It appears that Bob's folks are on vacation. If we can do anything in this respect let us know immediately.

Lots to say but since this one matter is emergency and we will be writing tomorrow perhaps I will close off.

Warmest regards



Had with RD

not Oleniuk (Carol's father)

Some notes of a conversation with Nick Olynik, Toronto May 4, 1964

came to Canada in 1927 same year as Nick Oleniuk-Ukrainian section of the CP already functioning, first had to join cultural organization in order to get into CP--Farmer-Labor Temple. The temple membership was small--about 100 members but on basis of new wave of immigration by 1928 rose to about 800--many of these immigrants had been in the Russian Revolution. About 100 of the 800 were members of the CP

Bill Besowych--had been in Canada before WW I--was in the west--he was an organizer for the Farmer Labor Temple--national organizer and a founder of the CP. He was the first Ukrainian Trotskyist--brought in the Bulletin put out by Trotsky in Russian. Nick got a copy around 1930 and was taken by Besowych to see Specter. Nick was working in a drug store. Besowych was a full time functionary. Expelled in 1932 or end of 1931

Besowych, Nick, a Kuchmak, Sam Mandzie and one other person? were editors of the Ukrainian bulletin in Toronto--published by the Farmer Labor Temple. In 1931-32 they were put on trial for criticizing the leadership--criticisms were very minor. They were all close friends and were active in the theatrical group. Not charged as Trotskyists but as disrupters and all expelled. A big sign was posted in the temple entrance forbidding them and of course all their families admission into the hall.

Kicked out in 1931-32 but already in touch with Specter. Nick thinks a mistake was made in not organizing an opposition--thought they would get back in. A Stephaniski was stage for the party leadership. Nick was secretary of a committee organized to free the Ukrainians from Poland, in charge of the temple library and Toronto correspondent to Ukrainian Workers News published in Winnipeg. Mandzie was a full time printer for the temple. Kuchmak was full time stage director. The central committee of the party (CPC) was at that time operating from Winnipeg and Nick Olynik was the secret receiver of correspondence from Winnipeg for the Toronto committee.

Nick Oleniuk who lived at the same place accidentally read this secret correspondence by mistake--names almost identical.

When they were kicked out they did nothing for about a year--didn't recruit Oleniuk. About 1933 MacDonald joined Specter to organize the Left Opposition. A Ukrainian section was set up. Nick Olynik became secretary--they issued a paper beginning 1934 which continued publication until 1937. Lobay breaks from CP in Winnipeg 1934-35 Besowych goes west to make a living on a farm. They had about 25 members and many sympathizers. Lobay ~~turns out to be a carrier~~ brought about 6-7 to a conference to consider widening group --Lobay turns out to be a carrier. B left for west after conference. Nick Olynik opposes Lobay openly in paper. Oleniuk joins Lobay--issued a couple of issues of paper and folded. Nick Olynik goes to the League for a Revolutionary Party-(Kreha) with majority of Ukrainian group. With collapse of LRWP makes contact with Murray and Ross Dwosen--wife dies and faced with three small children group scattered.



L. RD UNDATED - File with Nick Olenuik - 12:00 1/10/4  
typed up from notes written in RD's hand : apparently of an inter-  
view with Nic Olenuik--no date

It would appear that about 5 years after he had come to Canada he joined the Ukrainian Farmer Labour Temple--in Port Frances in the Rainy River District west of Antikokan near US border town of International Falls. In 1927-1932, he also apparently joined the CP there too. He was acquainted with Bill Bossovitch. Bossovitch had been expelled from the CP in 1928 --had voted against the expulsion of Spector from the CP at that time. Bossovitch was in Toronto and already out of the CP--but (BB) didn't associated himself with Trotskyism until after he was expelled from the Labour Temple. It appears that Bossovitch ridiculed the leadership for the expulsion of Spector --it appears that he had written a critical article of the leadership. When he was expelled BB was the (N.O.) ary of the Workers Benevolent Assoc. and a leading figure in it. In 1932 was expelled from the Farmer Labour Temple and the brass isolated him in the CP for disruption and disloyalty. Nick mentions three other persons --Mary (Massovitch?) (Sam?) Mandzie and a Livetsky who were associated with Bossovitch and himself although he and BB were the only persons accused. The brass also isolated and pulled off a pretty ruse--having them go to a meeting on Temperance St which turned out to be an RCMP office. Nick apparently there met Jack MacDonald. In his view Jack presented a more coherent viewpoint than Spector who he thought of being more to the left--but they were now coming together publicly in support of the Old Man.

and worked in a print shop.  
Nic taught for a period in Thorold on the Niagara peninsula where a great many Ukrainians commenced to settle, working the fruit orchards and in the industries that sprang up adjacent to the cheap electric power available from the Niagara Falls--probably taught in the Farmer Labor Temple--involved in its cultural activities, directed plays etc. RD came in contact with a Jock Marshall who was a leading unionist head of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union and a friend and neighbor of Jack MacDonald. Through that connection he met a George Florence who was around the Spartacus Youth League and became an organizer for that union. he was a close friend of Bossovitch's daughter named Mary?



E4

1958-66

EDM  
JBH

C.C.

81 Queen Street West  
Toronto, Ontario  
May 6, 1964

Bernard Bloom  
11025 Jasper Ave, Apt 615  
Edmonton, Alta.

Dear Comrade Bloom;

Thanks for your very serious enquiries about the League for Socialist Action. I have been delayed in answering by the accumulation of work that came with May Day and then the fact that the other half of our staff here has taken holidays compelling me to service our bookstore along with many other areas that I am responsible for.

The questions that you raise are large ones. In order to answer them properly I would not only have to send you our constitution and statement of principles but I would think all the material dealing with our internal life for it is doubtful even formal statements would meet the problem.

As you note in your letter these are all rather sensitive areas for us. A couple of days ago I received news that the NDP leadership in British Columbia is in the process of expelling from the party itself a considerable number of youth who had been expelled from the NDY a while back. Whether this is looked upon by them as merely a straightening up of the record or the opening up of a new drive against the entire Socialist Caucus I do not know at this time. Probably you know that the youth were charged with being participants in the activities of the League for Socialist Action, an organization whose interests are against the interests of the NDP.

In view of these two circumstances I have struck on a plan which I believe will allow us to exchange views on the key questions that you pose in a most satisfactory manner. Under separate cover I have mailed you two items for your examination. One is on the organizational principles of the Socialist Workers' Party of the United States--a broad general statement. The other is all the major material dealing with a dispute that developed in that same party back in 1940--the organizational material insofar as it is separable from the political--appearing in a book *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*. I am well acquainted with this material so upon your reading it we will have a detailed common point of reference.

The SWP is of course an American (United States) party however the matters that you raise would seem to me to be ~~international~~ common to a Canadian party. While not affiliated to the Fourth International the SWP is in broad general sympathy with it. Perhaps you know their weekly paper *THE Militant* and their theoretical journal *The International Socialist Review*.



Yes, it is a pity that we do not yet have any group in Edmonton so that you could not only have the possibility of detailed discussion with one of us but would be able for a period to work in close collaboration with us. Where are you taking your holidays or working this summer? As you probably know we have a very active group in Vancouver and if I am not mistaken you are already to some degree acquainted with Alan Engler who is now living out there.

Of course we hold conventions--every other year--where we adopt documents on various matters and elected a national committee, secretary, editor, etc etc. But more of this later. In the meantime I am looking forward to hearing your opinions on the material that I have just placed in the mail.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

If I am not mistaken your subscription to the Vanguard ran out a few issues ago and you will not have received the enclosed copy.



May 12, 1964

Dear Dick

Sorry to be so long in taking up your letter. All last week I took over Cliff's job too as he took a week's holiday in New York and while I was able to keep on top of many things, largely mechanical I found it all but impossible to carry correspondence.

Sorry that you were unable to come to the banquet as it was to a considerable extent a gathering of the clan with all of Waterloo and friends there, some of the old timers all the big names of what is supposed to be an embryonic left here in Toronto organizing around, Glover, Cathers, and some other fellow whose name I cannot recall. But I suppose Brian told you all about it. ~~Imagine the range of the~~ The orchestra pulled together and sparked by Jim M was the best we ever had and Pat Br and Helen O real dug it. The collection was very good and Ed Shaw's speech was a competent one. The comrades have been expressing disappointment about the SWP speakers—it seems that they anticipate they will all be Cannon's but alas some of them are no better than Dowson. I made the pitch during the discussion in the following branch meeting that we bring you in to the next banquet, all expenses paid and free meal

It was good to see Brian Slocock. I took out a couple of hours to have a discussion with him about the situation in Montreal. He was not too responsive—I suppose a little intimidated by me—there is quite an age difference. He appears to be quite impressed Bob. I would think that the visit was very good for him—will bring him much closer to us. I hope that he got his coat alright—I mailed it off to him yesterday. Another fellow came in from Ottawa and this Sunday another Ottawanian. It looks like Peter has finally made a break through and that we are on the verge of consolidating a youth local there.

I have again noted your criticisms of our proof reading. ~~On the other hand, the~~ ~~understanding of the situation in the Sino-Indian border dispute is a~~ ~~the Sino-Indian border dispute is a~~ I pondered and pondered over your comments about the Sino-Indian border dispute becoming a military struggle between two workers states not understanding how this could be—until I noted that the second line reads Sino-Soviet border dispute. You have a good eye—you are the only person who has said something about this. Of course the rest of the article makes it clear beyond all doubt that the Sino-Indian is the subject of the film and the dispute with the CP and Scott. I say this of course not to dismiss the error. This is my error and a ridiculous one. The transposition of Julia's name comes from a correction which in being corrected by the linotypist, was mucked up in this way. I was unable to check the corrections of the corrections on the page proofs—I had to leave it to the printer as I open the store in the mornings. I am unable to trace the misspelling of Republican—alas I threw away your copy as it was carried in full—but it wouldn't be there anyway.

I appreciate your pointing out these errors and we will certainly do our best to tighten up on them. One of the problems is that we do not have anyone here who is a competent grammarian—we do not have a proof reader. We utilize whoever is handy ~~and~~ and it is usually only a matter of picking off the most obvious errors—errors that do not tax critical faculties. It is very difficult to build up a staff with a monthly and the lack of division of labor with us. Under the circumstances I think we do not do too badly. Papers that are put out under much much better circumstances as you well know contain not only slips such as these but very serious errors indeed. Knowing me you should know that I am one of the last persons to be proof reading and editing other than in the narrowest political sense.

I did not care for the article on Bill 54 but Jerry insists on writing for the paper, he is a member of the NC and there was nothing wrong with it that I would want to



one

get into those positively stupefying arguments that we have with him from time to time. I think that we could carry another article on Bill 54 particularly if there is nothing more pressing. Your other idea of writing something up along the line of a guide to the current material being published in Montreal appears much more valuable. We have not received our bundle of Le Peuple and I ~~would~~ am surprised that Socialism 64 has not sent us a complimentary copy. I think this is really an excellent idea--not only as a service to our readers and to the Quebecois but in the process you will be able to make some pertinent observations and comments on the various trends and currents. I certainly hope you can find the time for this item. Can you push it into the mail box on the night of May 18 at the latest--and earlier if possible.

Yes I think that it is a very good idea that the Vanguard Publishing Association put out a pamphlet on Quebec and the national question. Right now we are working on an edition of THE DYNAMICS OF WORLD REVOLUTION. It is coming along quite well. We are in the process of running off some of the pages--the run will be large--3,000 Tony is working on the cover and I will be writing an introductory comment for the inside cover tomorrow or over the weekend.

Why not outline your ideas. Really we should have the internal document out first and at least a preliminary discussion, however depending on the character of this project we may get away without ~~ix~~ this pamphlet first. Glad to see that you ~~were~~ were planning as far back as May fourth or fifth to start on the document. Could you send us some kind of rough outline of your thoughts. I think that it would be very good if we were able to have a discussion on the PC before you present us with a finished document. I think that it would be a good idea if we could involve the ~~participation~~ PC in some of the preliminary stages.

Perhaps you visualize the pamphlet that certainly would be useful for this summer tour as utilizing some of the material that has appeared in the ~~paper~~ Vanguard. We still have Dubuc's Ottawa speech on hand. I would like to open up a concrete discussion with you on this.

I am enclosing a couple of items along with this note. One is a sheet with some comments by Ernie on the continental congress and ~~by~~ a few related lines based on a note I received ~~from~~ Mandel upon his return to Europe after ~~an~~ quite an extended stay in Cuba. From a rapid glance over Castro's Playa Giron anniversary speech and what Dick P tells me about the May Day speech I would gather that the leadership there seriously fear new invasions. Mandel has written up nothing so far but from a few words coming from that direction I would gather that there is a distinct possibility that we may have a big counter-revolution action after the presidential elections. This makes it all the more desirable that the congress come off even on a more limited basis. I had a long talk with Vern about the need to step up our pro Cuba efforts last night. I expressed the opinion that it was essential that we miss no public meetings with the invitados when they return, that we consider publishing the May Day speech in a shortened form in a cheap pamphlet that could be sold very cheaply and distributed free if necessary (I have written the Militant for the wire copy), that we consider putting out some simple popular leaflets in the name of the committee for mass distributions at such meetings as the ~~Spock~~ Spock meeting being held here and even factory gates. Vern has agreed to phone MC--we couldn't get him by phone last night to see what we can get out of him as to where things stand. If as it would seem the threat of invasion is very real the Cubans won't be hoodwinked into calling it off because of the trade they are now able to carry on with Canada. We here in Canada are in a position to intervene in the situation as no one else anywhere else is. That is why I think we should favor its going on even if on a more limited basis.

I have just returned from supper to receive a phone call from Vern. He contacted MC. MC is carrying on as usual. What this really means it seems to me is that he is not in favor and actually is not telling anyone that it is off. This is contrary to FLAP which I gathered from your note has said in so many words by what authority I do not know that it is off. ~~Extensive~~ Vern has agreed that we should affirm this conversation with



a letter to MC, carbon copy to Julia. We are agreed to carry on as if it is on but that we must set ourselves a deadline at which time a formal recognition of the situation is made. But I suggested the end of this month--in the meantime of course we are waiting as MC has been for something to happen--but we are also pushing through the address we have via cables etc to get the word from those who are formally responsible. It seems to me that Cuba is vitally concerned, is well informed on the situation and must participate in these efforts to resolve the situation --whether it is on or off from a public point of view by that date. The picture that Vern get from his conversation is that MC is not too concerned about operating in this way ~~but~~. He appears to be going about talking up the conference which he seems to be content may well drift into something totally different from the original continental congress. Apparently he has pulled together some essays on Latin America written by Quebecois for a pamphlet and ~~that~~ he visualizes what would in reality be some kind of seminar ~~with~~ of Quebecois and anyone else who would attend taking place I suppose on the same date in Montreal. We are agreed that this has to be handled more seriously than this. The congress has got international publicity and in all probability in many countries persons are making preparations to attend. It is necessary if it is not taking place that officials formally declare this and we must work to this ~~But~~ We should not be passive and in fact in the event of the official's failure to respond that MC will have to take it upon himself if it becomes clear that no serious preparations are afoot by the end of May to make a public announcement of a formal character that the thing is off. Then if it is possible to organize something on another basis fine--we should go about it formally and seriously. Vern is prepared to go into Montreal before the end of the month.

I am wondering if it is not possible for you ~~fixxxxxxxx~~ to immediately contact Julia to ascertain what their official attitude is to the whole thing now. What they do seems to me to be really decisive. They must have the connections. They must be able to ascertain if despite the Brazil coup and whatever the attitude the CP's may have ~~if~~ it is possible to go ahead with it. If they think it is they will have to wisk some officials up and carry the ball into Latin America. Certain decisions are going to have to be made by May 30th--the assembly place, a provisional agenda set-up etc etc.

Sorry to hear that Bob appears to be in an <sup>depressed</sup> mood these days. He has certainly been sending inspiring little notes around the country....I note one went into Vancouver the other day Carson showed me one he sent her ~~xxx~~ about his impressions of DosPassos' U.S.A and his arrest for selling the YSF, Bless ' defence and his determination to go to jail rather than pay a fine. ~~xxxx~~ What with his difficulty with the language he must be suffer a certain frustration. He is above all a man of action and so much of the left that he would appear to be in contact with in this stormy period is involved in literary affairs. It is bad that all is not sweetness and light between the two of you but suprisingly a working relationship ~~of~~ productive of great results can with effort be sustained under your present adverse circumstances. Over the past few years I got to know Bob fairly well. From what I know of him there are certain ways in which your personality would rub against his. He is robust, sweeping, romantic in his concepts and in contrast you would appear to him to be somewhat finiky, intellectualist, perhaps even petty. I sensed at times that while I know he respected me he had that feeling about me. He would be reserved, on his guard around me. Every once in a while I made a serious effort to break through to him with a robust gesture a generous action--and I managed to do it. It is worth the effort for Bob is a revolutionary: firmly tied to us--there is no mistaking that. Why don't you go out on a drunk with him some night. I would be pleased to send you the dough.

I have sent the complete index of Montreal and Quebec addresses under separate cover to the box. Sorry to have overlooked your request.

warmest regards

an seems to be fitting very well into the Vancouver ~~of~~ <sup>Ross</sup>



COPY

May 19, 1964

Gus Tolentino, Md.

Montreal

Dear Dick (F)

It was most unfortunate that you were unable to get up here over the holiday for of course it was inevitable that we should have many discussions, ~~not~~ some of them dealing in a most detailed way with the problems of our work in Montreal in which you are the key figure. I personally felt tremendously inhibited because of your absence

It certainly was a pleasure to meet Gus. I know almost nothing of his background but he is obviously a very serious and mature person. As far as I can gather he is in complete agreement with us. His contribution to one of the discussions that we held was in my opinion the most considered and penetrating. I have always had a good impression of Edith and it is apparent, particularly when I heard how she conducted herself all during their recent difficulties that she is a very promising revolutionary socialist. I was obvious to me that Bob has also matured over the past period. As for Brian--several of the comrades have become quite familiar with him over his past two visits and all have an excellent impression.

Edith and Bob gave me a detailed report of their unfortunate experience and Edith's conduct seems to me to have been exemplary. They gave a report of the present situation in Cuba, the recent trial with a much more limited report of the incident to the branch and youth. All of the Montreal contingent met with the resident NC members and the Toronto executive for about a two and a half hour discussion on the situation in Quebec.

The latter discussion was of course of most immediate concern. It was obvious from the discussion that all of the Montrealers considered themselves to be an integral part of the ISA--the whole discussion was marked by what "they" are saying and doing and what we are or should be or will be doing. The whole matter was so clearly posed that it seemed obvious that we should talk about setting up a Montreal branch -- formally setting up a ~~branch~~ disciplined branch, governed by the principles of democratic centralism, dues pledges, secretary and all that goes with this action. Brian Bob and Edith of course attended the branch meeting here, unfortunately Gus was unable. They take it as a matter of course that they will be members of the branch that is to be set up almost immediately.

There is no doubt in my mind that we are not only in a position to organize the branch but that it is necessary that we do so at once. It is possible that there are some doubts in your mind--particularly in regards to the suitability of certain persons. All of them are of course quite inexperienced--not one of them is French or even French speaking--one of them in particular is quite unstable--~~unstable~~ and has a somewhat romantic concept of the struggle.--a concept that could be dangerous, compromising. Nonetheless everyone of them considers himself to be one with us and has a tremendous respect for us--they are all very serious too. The problem of this one comrade in particular seems to me to be possible to overcome only if he is within the movement and under its political guidance which it appears that he is most anxious to accept.

While there will no doubt be some difficulties I can see nothing but good coming out of the constitution of a branch.--for instance it would no doubt solve this secondary matter of your and Bob H's relations --removing the personal conflict from the arena.



COPY

We discussed the necessity of completely orienting ourselves to the French--the need for everyone of us to learn French and move in that milieu. I raised the idea of our seriously considering the possibility in the next period of publishing a French language bulletin--something along the line of the old La Verite put out by Jean-Marie, Mark and Murray. Bob took back a couple of issues.

As I started off I regret that you were not here and that we were not able to consult with one another--but I gather that you would understand that such a visit would pose this whole question sharply

I take it that Bob H will be consulting you about all this in the next couple of days. I am most anxious to have your opinion of the weekend and how you think we should proceed.

I am enclosing a copy of a leaflet that we have prepared for the big Doctor Spock meeting in Massey Hall tomorrow night. I think that this leaflet could be put to use in Montreal ~~wherein~~ what about passing it out at the Jean Baptiste day march on La Macaza--or do you think it essential that we have something in French. At anyrate here is a sample copy --let me know if you want the stencils I have also sent out copies to Vancouver--they will no doubt want them--but we can work this out I am sure.

warmest regards

Ross

Very good news with Ottawa eh!



May 27, 1964

Belleville

~~Montreal~~

(Pardy)

Dear Al;

Glad to see that you have returned and that your first words are "Cuba was wonderful." Really looking forward to your coming in to tell us all about it for I am sure that while I have heard much from others you will have some fresh angles in insights.

Tried to get Joe to head that way but he had his heart set on New York where his sidekick Burkovitz is now--besides he really didn't have long enough a holiday

~~Simulation~~ Did you all come back together. The Unitarian Church has asked for a speaker to address their group here in Toronto--Vern is thinking that Mrs Guilds would like to. I suppose it is going to take sometime to work up all those words you have strung together. Waiting to feast my eyes on them--prose and poetry. Tonight Don Cullen has turned over the Embassy to FPCC to raise funds for the youth work group that will be heading for Cuba--a big affair--volunteer artists and all.

Did you see the latest Evidence yet--pictures and all.

See you soon ~~imagine~~--come collect if necessary

warmest regards

Ross D



June 2, 1964

Montreal

Dear Bob; (How)

I was speaking to Vern before supper about the Pan American congress and he has since told me the essence of his conversation with you, along with the happy news of your success in getting persons to apply for the tour.

I was hoping that we could get some French-Canadians. They are good types I take it. How did you come across them---are they students that Dubuc, Dofny etc recommend? I gather that Chartrand phoo phooed the whole thing. I am wondering if it is possible then to pick up that idea of a French-Canadian selection committee that Chartrand originally proposed to handle. Dofny and Dubuc would be ideal and if they agreed probably Chartrand would have to swing in behind. A French-Canada selection committee would be great shakes although there is little time and it would be difficult to carry it off. It is more possible now than before that persons wishing to go on the tour will be less serious---the mere fact that we started out with an awesome list of academicians as a selection committee with lots of time at its disposal to weight and investigate persons qualifications no doubt limited applicants to better types. Then we played up heavy the idea of work and the trip was not going to be so much fun---going by a slow boat and all---not by air. Of course the committee will swing into action here but it will be an English committee, not French. Perhaps after the names are quickly gone over here Dubuc could be prevailed upon to arrange an interview with each of them which would meet the problem. In my opinion it is most important that FPCC be cleared of the selection---that special committee was a brilliant idea both from this point of view and gave the committee a new reach into so-called respectable circles. In some ways even if it is only a make-shift arrangement it is even more important we have something French. Give us your ideas on this--

About the congress---I am now getting enquiries so we cannot any longer talk in terms of whether it is coming off or not. People in other lands have to know the score, lay out for expensive air fares, passports, holidays etc. Chartrand has been made by the Cubans and by the persons who came up here prior to the Brazil co up as a sponsor---the sponsor in so far as anyone's name has been connected with it. Probably Vern told you of the letter he sent suggesting that last weekend ~~was~~ should be a deadline of sorts. He is trying to get Chartrand but so far tonight has been unable. I gather from ~~xxx~~ Vern as far as you know he has still heard nothing. Surely he must have a couple of names and addresses of ~~xxxx~~ the Latin Americans ~~xx~~. It seems to me before he takes it upon himself to announce the calling off of the congress that it would be good to place a couple of long distance telephone calls and get their concurrence---or at least satisfy ourselves that we did our all to find out the score. But it seems apparent to me on the failure of the officials to come up here, the Cubans to pick it up that we have almost immediately to finalize the whole question---we have to have a firm commitment or failing this in the next day Chartrand has to make a statement to the world press postponing the whole thing.

As for any other conference---well that is a totally different matter which we must also discuss and get working on right away.

Dick in his last note said he was going to get a stereo matrix of Chartrand for pamphlet that we are running off shortly. Possibly he has been called out of and has not been able to do this. This idea was to get a matrix of a cut

Devoir or La Presse have already run---it would be a standard head and shoulders



shoulder job. we still want this. But Toni and I have got to working on the designs of both of the pamphlet covers we are putting out in the next week and we have a very good idea that requires a different type of shot of Chartrand--one that contains not only his head and a bit of shoulder but more of his body. Of course his facial features must be good--we are not too worried about his body as long as it is not ~~orthodoxly dressed~~ unorthodoxly dressed. ~~Since you~~ I would think that you would have to get such a photo from him or his wife. Since you have to see him about the Pan American I would like you to see him about this photo--of course you want it for Vern. We need it just as soon as you can do this. Would you phone Dick to see if he is in town so that we do not get a cross purposes on this.

In fact would you show him this note

Looking forward to hearing from you on this as soon as possible.

Will comment on some of the other excellent developments in a day or so.

fraternally

Ros s



June 4, 1964

Dear Ernie;

(late)

Well the tour headed away from the headquarters at about 1.15 today. Worked late last night in order to get lists tied up in good order and came down this morning early to get the packing done.

I wanted to write you this ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ letter before now but was just unable to do so. It is with regards to the new headquarters--you said a bit about it in one of your letter and Alan has said more to ~~Rxxx~~ Jean.

I hope you will be cautious in this matter and will not move without the agreement of all the comrades particularly such comrades as Ruth and Reg. It is very important that we do not get involved in agreements that are really an extension--and over extension of our forces. There are some things you just have to do and you put the squeeze on everyone to do them ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ But the expenditure for a headquarters--for a store is a long range commitment that has to have solid foundation on the present forces at our disposal and those you can reasonably anticipate will come to you in such as period as we are in. There is nothing more demoralizing for a movement for it to incur a debt which hangs over it on the basis of a false estimation of the possibilities in a situation.

After all the Vancouver collectivity is going to be responsible. Unfortunately we are not going to be able to give any help in this project as much as it will profit the entire movement whatsoever. Our financial situation here is very bad--really. The branch is paying \$100 a month rent and 40 a week wages to Cliff--its day to day expenses are such that it has so far proven unable to raise the other 50 a week we decided it should for the facilities here and to pay some \$250 that is still outstanding from an election of almost two years ago now. And election time is coming in on us again. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ If matters had been allowed to drift a couple of months longer with regards to the bookstore here we would have bankrupted the movement. Jerry's pride and irresponsibility took us right up to the edge. I have not taken the time to make a detailed estimate but I would estimate that when things came to a showdown we had a pressing debt--debtors right on our neck--to the extend of about \$3,500. I have sunk every bit of cash we have into recuing the store--we cannot afford to let it go under. It is going to take considerable time in order to get us out of this situation. After all we are only able to save Jerry's wages--the only maneuverability we have. I was afraid with Cliff who is really not interested in books that sales would drop but they fortunately have not. And now at least we know that the sales are a true figure. After being in the store in soon ~~xxxx~~ discovered that Jerry had been granting ~~xxxx~~ counts--probably in the hopes that the gross sales would go up. I found that we have not



been charging enough for the books that we have been importing. You know what we are having to do. Some of the paperbacks like the Brecht poems we get only 1/3rd discount. I sat down one day---worked out the situation so that we would get 40%, would get back the customs we paid and the postage we paid and the exchange we paid and allowed us a dollar for a letter involved in ordering and a dollar for taking out an hour or so to go to customs and we are now adding 44 cents to the retail US price---44 cents for every dollar. That is quite a phenomenal boost isn't it but it is correct---we need 40%. When we move we are no longer going to do business with Sinnott's as far as pocket books are concerned---20% is not enough mark-up---we are going out for 40%. New American Library has a set up here so that we can do so as soon as we are in a position so as not to embarrass the central office which has recognized Sinnott as their agency. The only stuff we are going to handle at less than 40% is socialist literature.

1. The 10% Socialist literature.  
 2. The 10% Socialist literature.  
 3. The 10% Socialist literature.

So as I say much as we would like we are not going to be able to help you--that is with any cash advance. And I do not see how one could set up a bookstore without ~~having~~ having a couple of thousand dollars even with the situation being better than ever with regards to credit. In the last year many of the paperback outfits are accepting returns--this is very good--and I think that all cloth books are now returnable. This is a real break but of course when you order they still want to be paid in thirty days so for any stock of any consequence you have to have some capital. You need considerable even to set it up---a cash register--~~shelving~~ shelving, display materials etc. Then of course you need staff.

I say this of course not at all to discourage you--just to pose some of the problems-- it would be a terrific achievement to have a bookstore in Vancouver--radically change things for us

There is no doubt at all in my mind that we need a new hall--better location, more modern etc. I do not know what you pay now but here I think we could safely spend more. I see from ~~The~~ Press that the Stanley Park quarters have been closed down. I think good riddance for it had become a useless and sectarian place. I took time out to read that issue of Press which to a considerable degree reflects Stanley Park. Really pitiful--all living in the thirties. This no doubt makes our headquarters more important than ever although we will have to be careful that attempts to transfer a Stanley Park atmosphere to our headquarters don't succeed. I never ever will forget Ruth B's chairmanship of the meeting we held for me there last year.

I am sure that all the comrades will appreciate the need for obtaining a better headquarters and for galvanizing our forces so that we can finance one that doesn't cost too much more. We will have more successful forums, better collection and aside from better recruitment possibilities. But the store--that is another matter and I would like to give you a bit of our experience---as I have in this note--posing a few of the problems.

I hope that this book arrangement now operating with you is satisfactory and useful to the development of our forces there. I scribbled a note suggesting that rather than keep any of the books as samples for orders that you sell them right away. There are a couple of reasons. One is that I am unable to build a stock of some of the items you want and the delay may be considerable. Then the sample gets dirty and possibly unsaleable. We also want the money and you need the money. The Lukacs books I sent in the last parcel are important from a cultural point of view. The Winspear books are Marxist and therefore justifiable even though relatively academic.



No doubt you realize the last issue of the Vanguard was specially edited with the all-woman tour in mind. Too bad we had three articles--all long from Vancouver. As you yourself suggest--your two could have been amalgamated. Reg is a terribly wordy writer for a small paper such as ours. They are all good articles of course--just too many--too long for our little paper. I particularly wanted Ruth's column in this issue --then I thought we needed something like O' Canada to give our tourists good talking points. I hope this comes off. The Algerian thing came in at the last moment and I encouraged FPCC to make a release which we were able to use. All very good for the tour-talking.

Well Ruth T has made up her mind. She is a very undecided person you know. I don't know her well--we don't see too much of her--after all she works all day, then she has the baby on her own and would appear to have some reluctance to bring him down here because of the difficulties that she thinks he ~~has~~ causes. But she has made the decision re-Cuba--the Howell's have agreed to look after Michael--and they will look after him well. ~~With your permission about 80% of the time she will be going out occasionally~~ <sup>it looks to me that the odds are about 80% that she will be going out occasionally</sup> one of those who has been accepted to kick out. As soon as the word came through that 45 could go the selection committee decided that there were another 13 among the originals that should go, then they wanted seven from French Canada. Bob did what Chartrand and others proved unable to do. He sent in 8 almost immediately--all very good it seems to me for I have perused their applications. The fact that no French-Canadians were going was a great embarrassment to the committee obviously and this had to have top priority. Ruth's has filled in her application and submitted it. There are two or three persons who the committee has accepted who have not been heard from--there are possibly one or two even though they have paid \$40 who will be pulled out. As things now stand Ruth is top priority....should any of these four not come across or any who have decided they now cannot go Ruth will go. This coming weekend the committee will be settling with the three or four who have not been heard from--who haven't sent in the \$40. The matter may be settled right then and there that Ruth is going.

If I understand Ruth correctly she has some considerable reluctance about leaving Michael--I think that she has become much more firmly attached to him than she originally showed. She also has a problem of her relations with her family. It appears that they are a real pressure on her. The other night at the restaurant she several times talked about the terrible thing she had done. Finally it came out. She had agreed to give up her rooms and go and live at home. Then she went on to talk about how her mother had been making promises to her that would make things easier for her and then at the moment of payment reneging. I hope that I convinced her to not take up her family's offer. And I hope that she goes on the trip. I think now that it is more important than I had thought heretofore.

Incidentally when she returns to you I think that it would be a good idea if you were occasionally to go out with her to some art films, and if you were to occasionally get a few clothes of a more stylish character. Take your nose out of the newspaper clippings. On a couple of occasions she has told me about how you have changed. I can only gather that you are like me--but perhaps more so...and she has not quite kept up to you.

Will write tomorrow--I hope  
about some of our political problems

throw this letter away torn up

affectionately

Ross

no matter what you say about this or that person, about Vern's failure to consult Phil re the tour--and no matter what justice you may have on your side--the overall character is a tremendous success--really tremendous--Vern is very conservative you know.



June 11, 1964  
81 Queen Street W  
Toronto, Canada

Montreal

Dear Comrades;

It was with great joy that we received the various items that you have been sending us that show you have taken the long anticipated and big qualitative leap to the firm establishment of a Trotskyist group in Quebec. Our failure to express our solid satisfaction before now has been entirely, indeed solely, due to the tremendous pile-up of work here in Toronto.

While I can personally recall that this is the third such attempt of our movement yours is the most serious and most favored decision to establish firm roots in Quebec. And there is no question that success is all the more assured by the favorable circumstances now developing in Quebec.

With a fusion of our accumulated Marxist knowledge, a real understanding of the milieu of operations, a seriousness, a patience, and a loyalty to one another and our world-wide movement, our work is certain to flourish.

No doubt there will be many difficulties in preparing ourselves for the task of giving leadership and in shaping and hardening the instrument that will conquer the opposition of the bourgeoisie and their conscious and unconscious agents in the working class movement. But we are heirs to a great tradition. The Fourth International is firmer and more able to play its role than it has ever been before. Socialism has breached this continental citadel of imperialism through the Cuban Revolution. Our Canadian cadre is youthful, vigorous and it is growing.

We of course will give whatever aid we can and anticipate your calling upon us to do so. Certainly your existence and flourishing will be a great contribution to the development of the Canada-wide, continental-wide socialist revolution. And it is by no means excluded that you will lead the way.

La Lutte Ouvriere--a good name! Obviously it is flourishing in Quebec and is seeking out the leadership and direction which we Trotskyists, can, must, and will give through a press of such a name. Long Live La Lutte Ouvriere! Solidarity with your auspicious beginning to build the mass Trotskyist movement in Quebec--the party of socialist revolution in Quebec! And every confidence in your success!

comradely

Ross Dowson, national secretary.



June 17, 1964

Dear Reg;

The Dynamics of World Revolution is out and tomorrow by 10 o'clock I will have washed my hands of the latest Fair Play pamphlet featuring Chartrand and Vern Olson and John Aiddell then I will be getting onto the paper. Can't brook much more delay as the Trailblazers will be demanding it as will the Toronto sub campaign if not Vancouver.

(pamphlet)  
I haven't had a chance to read over the posh put out by the unions out there on Canada's mercantile problems. The various forms of reformists with of course the CP in the vanguard have been pleading and crying that the bourgeoisie should open up the public treasury to build a merchant fleet for decades now-to no avail. I would suppose there is no industry in the world that is so subsidized as shipbuilding but I am afraid that the industry in this country is not such a factor in the economy to justify further subsidies which would have to be extremely large in the mind of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore from a strictly national point of view there must be plenty of cheap shipping facilities coming to Canada's shore in relationship to the commodities to be shipped since so much of Canadian exports merely have to go south---

Here is it Saturday afternoon--three days later. There has been nothing in the press here as to the final settlement of the ticklish situation in the shipyards there. Are the Plumbers back? I am wondering what your policy in the situation outlined in your article was--other than respect the plumbers picket line. After a few days of this you would have as you say a dangerous situation which would call for some more concrete proposition. ---perhaps that the plumbers go back and the rest of the shipyard commit itself to some kind of ~~maxxing~~ periodic stoppage until such time as the plumbers got what they wanted.

I hear that Fair Play out there has chosen you to go July 23--you or Ruth--~~maxxing~~. While it would be very good for Ruth--for anyone of us--I think in many ways that it is preferable that you go since you have longstanding union connections. It is this area that FP has been least successful in tapping. With a break we may have you going down with a Jerry Gallagher--a maverick Irishman, head of the laborer's union here. He was all set to go last time but he took ill--There is another possibility and that is that he will be squeezed out by the head of Voice of Women--Mrs Macpherson. There is little question that Cuba would get considerable and sympathetic hearing through Mrs Macpherson if she goes. If she proves unable--she is somewhat worried about the reaction of the rest of the heads of VOW--it is Gallagher who will be going. I am hoping that you go with Gallagher as you could bring him considerably closer to us. His daughter is in our youth group--she tells me that he is demoralized. Well Cuba seems to be the cure alright.

How much time can you get off? I am wondering if it is not possible for you to take time over and above your actual visit to make a bit of a tour of



the country on behalf of FP. It would be modest--something in Montreal, a meeting in Toronto, possibly one in Winnipeg, maybe Regina, if Gallagher ends up going with you we could have a meeting of a special type directed to unionists.

Ernie tells me that Steeves' experience has had a positively rejuvenating effect on her not unlike the effect on old man Faulkner. Mandel was positively inspired according to Joe H. He says that there has been positively nothing like this anywhere in the world since the heroic days of the October revolution. I suppose all of us up here in Canada, wrangling with the NDP, the CCF, the trade union brass and the pitiful CP could do with a bit of a shot in the arm. And everyone else is travelling why not you--me twice to Europe--several of our youth to Cuba, another off to Algeria--you soon wont count is you havent some overseas medals.

Well I hear via the grape vine--BT phoned Ruth--that we have taken up a store front on Granville. Sounds very good to me--particularly since the rent is not qualitatively higher than the old place. ~~xxxxxxx~~ From the experiences we are having here and from what I learn of your experiences out there we are in a period of growth--nothing flashy put steady growth. I know that the youth here have an understanding of financial responsibilities--and those who do not are catching on from others who have. Ernie performs here very well and so does Alan and they should have good effect on the youth who have a certain tendency to think that the older members with long-time jobs are those with the money.

How has Alan integrated himself in the work out there? Jean will be a terrific asset. Very able, very responsible. She is an effective contact worker and like her brother Bryan demonstrated at the last NDP convention she has lots of political nerve. She is bold and moves in very effectively.

I see that the SWP has sent out a statement on the last meeting of the international executive committee. Probably you have seen it--Ernie gets a copy from New York. The British comrades have translated the entire minutes into English--Alan is sending us sufficient copies for the NC which I will ship on when they arrive. I see the SWP held up the international bulletin which we ran off here in Toronto for the English speaking world until this meeting of the executive which formally registered Pablo's split. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ This defection is indeed unfortunate coming as it does when we are commencing to profit from the unification and the broad attention that the Chinese and the Khrushchevists are giving us. In actual forces Pablo represents far less than the very small influence he registered at the NC. The last assembly of the French went in its majority to Pierre F. I understand that he has lost the Australian. To my knowledge he has no influence at all in the British not to speak of the Canadian NZ and other sections. A more ~~xxx~~ important development is the arrival of the long coming showdown in the Ceylon section. The reformism of Perara and the equivocal position of de Silva has finally resulted in the revolutionary socialist current being a slim majority in the national leadership and a minority in the membership. I do not know whether the <sup>BC</sup> press has covered the ~~split~~, the Toronto press hasn't said a word. The latest issue of World Outlook has a lengthy article. Do you get an airmail copy there? Fortunately Pierre was there and we will soon be getting a detailed picture of the situation.

The trailblazers ~~xxxxx~~ are coming along fine. Perhaps the sub work is not what it should be--they appear to be concentrating heavily on contact work. There moral is high. Last weekend and again this weekend several of the comrades have gone out and joined them but they have sent them packing as they have work to do

comradely

Ross D R D



81 Queen Street West, Toronto  
June 20, 1964

ME

Dear Edith and Bob

(S)

Received the clippings that covered the unfurling of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in Montreal. Very very good. Came just in time--I have mounted them, Vern is going to pick them up and take them along to the meeting that is being held of the students who are going on the Cuban trip from the Toronto area. The ambassador and no doubt the consul will be in attendance. It will be inspiring to the youth and it will be a nice little item for the ambassador to see--the ambassador who failed to forward my appeals about your case in Cuba. It will go the rounds in the garden party tonight which no doubt will be a big success.

Did you pick up any more copies of the paper? I think it would be a very good idea to send a set to Prof Brown, to Prensa Latina. Yes it would be very nice if it got press or at least attention in Cuba after your experience. Don't forget to put the name of the paper on it and the dates.

Can you pick up a stereo matrix from the Star--it is a good photo of you I guess Bob being packed away in the squad car. I would like to run this photo in the next issue of the Vanguard--we are going to press now. I would think that the Star or whatever paper it appeared in would sell you it--about \$1.50 which we will remit. And while you are at it we are always in want of good Cuba shots and those aren't at all bad that the Star is using. Not the ones on June 16--but both shots on June 17 are good--particularly the Chinese. Can you get matrix of those. It will have to be done right away as ~~xxxx~~ we want them right away and sometimes they throw them out shortly after publication.

Haven't heard what happened to Bob's case with YSF. When you send me the matrix it would be good if you would let me know the score on this and we will possibly tie them in together.

Today we have a big picket on anti-apartheid on here--organized ~~by~~ by us pushing and shoving the New Democratic youth.

Looking forward to seeing Gustavo again

warmest regards

oss

Our Vancouver comrades have just rented a new headquarters which they say without much added cost will be good for a store.



COPY  
June 20, 1964

Montreal  
Dear Dick;

this weekend

I tossed everything aside and wrote a letter to Reg, very long over due and in reply to a rare one from him; a letter to Alan in reply to his of May 25 and a couple since; a letter to Ernie which had to go out as I barged into his personal relations with Ruth a few days ago; and a letter to Joe H who I haven't written to for possibly a month and who has been sending along item after item on world developments. It is hard to account for my time of the last week or two but of course we got the Dynamics of World Revolution off and tomorrow morning I finish with the cover of the Fair Play pamphlet, the insides are already printed

I am really sorry about that letter of greetings to the Montreal baby. I kept procrastinating then along came your caustic comment driving me into action. Of course it was in order

And how do you like the cover of Dynamics. It gives me the feeling of something by Wagner-- a surging but constrained, directed vitality. At first I was a little uneasy about the blurb on Suslov, using his statement that way however now that I have put it aside and then read it again I think it is not bad at all. And if it aids in the sales it will be well justified. That was cautious reasoning given by the Vanguard Publishing Association for publishing the document

Chartrand never did send the photo along. We delayed and delayed but finally ended up going to the Globe and Mail where we obtained a one column cut. Killed my idea for the cover, had to redesign it. It is adequate but nothing special. It is hard to believe that he has just forgotten to send it along when ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ so many people were assured that it would be along. And did he make the press release formally calling of the Pan American conference? He told Vern he would last week. I have written Paris and Havana who were pressing for certain actions predicated on its coming off that it has been cancelled.

Well the tour is now well underway. The seminar came off well this Saturday. Over a dozen students came in--one from Ottawa and another from Montreal. The ambassador attended as did Prof McGurdy who went out of his way to express his satisfaction with the ~~whole~~ handling of the whole thing. John R was there and was impressed by the students. The garden party held that evening was also a big success. I stayed down here typewriting away but Mel Johnson along with Norman Endicott and one or two others prominently identified with the Canada-Cuba outfit were there. It would appear that this committee has gone. I think you are aware that Johnson who was their chairman has joined FPCC. We will have five of the 45--~~xxxxxx~~ Jacky Henderson is going and of course Ruth T too. Now we are going to be in a rush to get the bulletin out with a few poems by Purd an article by Mrs Guilds who has joined the committee upon her return and an extensive report on the many meetings that Steeves has been addressing. Ernie says that she has been doing a terrific job--just as inspired as Cox but many times more sophisticated and articulate.

It was good to read the clippings on the unfurling of the FPCC banner in Montreal. I managed to write a letter to the Silverman's and a note to Bob on it. I asked the Silverman's to get us the matrix of the photo and to be sure to get copies so they could be sent on to Cuba



Bob (Silverman?) Montreal -2-

RIN= Pierre Bourgault

COPY

Brown would probably like to circulate them around the Canadian-American community to counteract the work of the Stalinists. My note to Bob suggested that a second demonstration really served no purpose unless we had decided to challenge the police in the courts, had bail ready, a lawyer and had decided to allocate the necessary time to such a project in the conviction that the case was a good one and we had possibilities of winning wider support. But I was probably too late to influence anything.

Yes, I was sure that we would be having all kinds of discussions on all sorts of matters which are very basic. Bob made very many comments while he showed that he has no real understanding of the working class movement. He is still carrying much of the baggage of his coffee house radical days around with him. We must find some way of getting him into the working class. I am sure his romantic concepts were in part affirmed by the workers who he taught while in Cuba--after all they have come through a great revolutionary experience. What is he doing for a living? He was talking about hacking but what he needs is a good experience in a shop amongst workers who have a bunch of kids, who are up to their necks in debt, and who have been hardened by the old capitalist squeeze play. His tendency will be to drift around radical intellectual circles, humanist, when what he needs is a little experience in the routine of the class struggle. Bob H should be of great help in straightening up Bob S. The former had many of the characteristics of the latter when I first met him but he was very serious, he read and of course he pushed and shoved his way into the ranks of the working class. The general climate in Quebec would suggest to me that we are going to attract other persons with the same disease so we should practice the art of medication. In fact if we do not learn it well there is a distinct danger that we can get involved in some bad and completely unnecessary experiences.

Congratulation on your school results. So everyone did well. Bob got his tuition for next year. Art of course has switched to Toronto but also did well. Glen made it. Haven't heard about Kean or Joan R. or Bill L but my impression is that the doubtful person was Glenn. Oh Yes Hans made it --told me rather shamefacedly--probably got one second in the mess of firsts.

You know of course that Gustavo is heading this way. A couple of us had a little time for the last couple of days and we are preparing a big parcel for him to take back with him for you. I have decided to send you all the back issues of Quatrième Internationale. The file looks to me to be in quite good shape and in glancing over it I have concluded that aside from ~~some~~ excellent material on the whole range of our ideas which will be invaluable for the education of French-Canadians who we are going to recruit there are some excellent items that might be published in La Lutte Ouvriere from time to time. And of course the beauty is that they have been translated into good French--short timeless theoretical gems by the old man, Zinoviev Lenin, Luxemburg etc. We are also in a position to have what must be very close to a complete file of the SWP internal bulletins. It is already possibly more than he can take back on his ticket.

Well I didn't tell you anything so I am hoping that you take it as not having told you of any objections to receiving any moment now an article on the RIN congress. There were a couple of items in the G&M on the congress but I haven't sent them along as I am sure they will be of little aid to you. Yes I think it is a good idea to give our readers a picture of this aspect of Quebec politics and our analysis of it. Really we should have a discussion on it. Perhaps it could be the subject of a discussion in the branch. I find such experiences worthwhile regardless of what my thoughts are as to the general competence of the comrades on the subject. Of course it is necessary to give them your ideas but I am continually surprised to see what value there is in such discussion.



COPY

But I am holding you to the round-up and appreciation of the various journals next month or if anything more important barges in the following month. Yes, once you get La Lutte underway, which will be quite a job in itself I can see no need at all for you to write up articles for the Vanguard. It will be all the better that we can inscribe across the article that we have taken it from the Quebec periodical of revolutionary socialism

I am sorry that I am unable to keep you in touch with all that is going on. Of course my failure here has nothing at all to do with the circumstances around your last visit here. In your PS they follow on one another. I am sure our relations are not in anyway governed by such little matters as a temporary outburst of temper. I know that they are not on my part and never will be. How could we hope to build a serious movement if it were so. And that that certainly in not only our intention but our complete confidence I hope that I have never demonstrated otherwise to any comrade, and no not to you. I not only immediately forgave like a god what I must have felt was your responsibility but I also forgot, and you can be sure if I had even thought that you were not well as you suggest I would not have even noticed anything. We are going to be with one another a long time. And I personally look to you to play a big role. I have always attempted to see each of us in our totality. And have tried to generate this atmosphere in the movement. This may unfortunately create an atmosphere of detachment--a depersonalized atmosphere. A problem. I seem to recall an anecdote about Lenin. I think it was about his reaction to the Appassionata Sonata. He said something to the effect that it was beautiful but that it made one sentimental and inclined to be tender and this often leads to being bit. ~~Max~~ We are all inhibited in the expression of our personal feelings towards one another, our respect, our hopes--and particularly in print, we poor miserable specimens of what man is yet to become. Do you know Brecht's poem to Posterity? I must type up a copy and send it to you. He puts it better than I could possibly hope to do.

Yes you are out of touch. There are so many things happening and not only with our own forces here in Canada--and they are truly astounding--but right across the globe. Possibly the French press unlike the English here has reported on the final showdown with Perera's rotten conciliationism with the Bandaranaike government. The Ceylon ~~from~~ LSSP has undergone a split and the Trotskyists forces have consolidated themselves to ~~build~~ build a new revolutionary leadership. They will be holding a conference on July 12. Pierre participate in the entire proceedings. A preliminary report has already appeared in World Outlook. Did the local press report on the arrests of Trotskyists in Spain. You must get your World Outlook on an airmail basis. ~~And the French press has reported on the final showdown with Perera's rotten conciliationism with the Bandaranaike government. The Ceylon from LSSP has undergone a split and the Trotskyists forces have consolidated themselves to build a new revolutionary leadership. They will be holding a conference on July 12. Pierre participate in the entire proceedings. A preliminary report has already appeared in World Outlook. Did the local press report on the arrests of Trotskyists in Spain. You must get your World Outlook on an airmail basis.~~ If financing it is a problem why not drop into the Silvermen's --they are getting it airmail. In fact there is so much material coming in here that for a long ~~period~~ stretch at a time I am only able to give it a superficial scan

and I must get with the paper---Vancouver demanded copies of the last issue. Vemonto is running low due to its sub campaign and the Trailblazers are complaining that they cant do the distributions they want

with warmest regards

Ross



July 6, 1964  
Toronto

Algeria

Dear Art;

It was good to get your note from the airport. I gather you either didn't get your contemplated couple of hours ~~xxxxxx~~ in Paris or didn't manage to make contact. I received a letter from Reba a few days ago and she ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ is only anticipating your visit in August and of course Katsumi's. And while I think of it it might be a good idea to drop Paris a note. Reba writes "We're considering going over to a summer schedule after next week I'm sure we'll have a notice in the July 3 issue of W.O. and then things will be relatively easy. And during August we're going to take a vacation (maybe no issues of W.O. at all) although we might stay in Paris to see what the tourist finds so attractive here." Of course I have given them your schedule but I think it would be a good idea if you were to send them a short, friendly note in a few weeks or so, outlining your schedule.

Contrary to the WUS tour the Cuban tour got underway with what might be called a fanfare of publicity. The photo in the Vanguard comes from the Star. And I am enclosing ~~xxx~~ a copy of the Tely article. CBC didn't do anything with it but CTV which I gather from our local authorities is a national network gave good coverage. According to Dave from his talks with the fellow in CBC who was so interested and hopeful of a real program the thing was too big, meaning I take it that it involved such persons on the selection committee and such students that they felt they couldn't do a job on it and it be favorable would only get them into trouble. I received a letter from Dave today from Mexico. ~~They~~ The first contingent with Hans in it is waiting there for the Western gang and Ruth T. It appears all is going very very well there. Hans is in charge of baggage, and our Montreal comrade Andre is in charge of all student discussions--student chairman Dave calls him. We rushed like hell here and got the FPCC pamphlet off the presses--the latest one has Vern, Michel and John R featured. We also got a bulletin out which is quite impressive. Mrs Guild wrote a very nice item as did Dorothy Steeves, it included a small item on the ~~xxx~~ police harassment of Edith and Bob in Montreal and a note by Bob on the Amigos de Cuba which should do much to re-establish both of them and counteract continued Stalinist slanders. And now we are preparing to set up booths in the CNE and the PNE (Vancouver.) The PNE booth is in the bag. There are troubles concerning the CNE but I think we will get it.

Big youth activity right now is preparing an appropriate welcome for Governor Wallace of Alabama who is slated to address the Lions convention only a couple of days away. And of course the special issue of the YSP.

The tour is going strong. John R went out to meet them with the latest issue of the paper.

The orientation material arrived today and I can see what you mean when you say they were preparing your band for the shock--that article on Pakistan the lead article in Revolution Africaine



Well wait until they see the real thing. I only had a bit of a glimpse at it but I hope that you get right out into the hill and desert areas. Poverty in the Casbah has a certain picturesque character but now out in the raw sun and the naked earth.

There is no important matter that I should have taken up with you before you left. Some months back I sent a request for a considerable number of pamphlets on Algeria in English that were advertised in Algeria dans le Monde. I have never heard from them on this. There is also the matter of the movies--certain that I saw while there were really excellent. It would be very good if you could really move in on Algeria dans le Monde offices, if necessary helping to pack stuff to us and to the Montreal box yourself. And it would be good if you could bring a couple of reels of movies back with you. I wonder if this is not possible. I doubt that we would be sure of getting them otherwise. This fall would provide us with lots of opportunities to show them--not only by the more interested WUS tour students at meetings they could hold but by the LSA, by The Algerian Montreal Committee. We could possibly arrange showing across the US at SWP headquarters etc. I would think that Algeria dans Le Monde would be quite interested. The problem is most likely only administrative.

Sorry I have no other World Outlooks to send you. I sent you an airmail copy that comes to Dick F but he is away on his holidays so I decided to take a chance on receiving our sea mail bundle by the time he returns. At anyrate as you see they are going on drastically reduced publication. My impression when last there was that most of the major papers come into Algiers so you will not be starved for news. I think that there is little use sending you anything other than by air and air is terribly expensive

You will note the item in Vanguard on our new store and headquarters. Ernie tells me that the hall is over 100 foot long--the store is rather small but can be enlarged. The latter wont be getting underway until this fall when Jean will be able to take over and we are in a position to get enough funds for a little stock. Gustavo is here and will be here with us until March. He decided not to bother going to Cuba but to get some working class experience here and of course have an experience with our branch. He has buried all his certificates and has applied with eighth grade qualifications to get a job as a car cleaner down at the CNR yards. Unfortunately he cannot drive a truck. Have him gathering World Dynamics right now--which I see got a very nice ad in the last W.O.

Your transformation into a socialist will be a good experience for you Algerian guides. Looking for some transformations myself--though not so drastic. Look after yourself--anticipating your return--warmest regards

Ross.

Gus brought us a ~~recording~~ recording of Algerian revolutionary songs. It includes the Hymn of the Underground which I found so impressive when I first heard it at the unification. Well one thing you can say about the FI we handled our Millerand forthwithrightly --everyone else has winded them and dined them. The left appears from what I can gather to be very solid--strong influence among the dockworkers and of course the youth.







So unless you can think of some added material for me to use it looks like our little idea of a tour is fated to die aborning. As useful as it would be to us.

Thank Ruth for the info on the death of Harry Noakes. Is there any possibility of anyone going up to Prince George or to Magna Bay? I do not have Flora's letter at hand as I am working in the store but if I am not mistaken she is living up at Prince George now but I imagine the material that she would like to turn over to us is in Magna Bay. Perhaps someone is travelling up in that direction and we could arrange to pick it up. Let me know

The demonstration that I and Joe walked in was a tremendous success as was probably reported in the Vancouver press. Actually aside from the official organized ~~one~~ at the Maple Leaf Gardens there were two others more or less spontaneous--one at the airport--welcoming Wallace there and another at the Royal York Hotel heralding his arrival. Interestingly enough the picket of the next day held at 10:30 in the morning when Wallace was speaking was not much smaller than the previous evening's 1,000. I cannot recall a demonstration of such scope taking place in Toronto since the thirties. Very significant.

We played some role in this. We contacted Joe who is a member of a labor council committee that has some jurisdiction in this area to raise the whole matter. He pushed and shoved various persons and the council executive motion urging that the city fathers do not give Wallace any civic recognition burst the whole thing onto the front pages of the press. Of course in the process of the debate which the executive opened up various delegates called for a demonstration--so it was on.

We started to move around trying to get the thing on an organized basis about the same time as the CP and a meeting was called in one of the pacifist houses here under the auspices of a feeble CP front The Anti-Apartheid Committee headed by a nonentity--a Mrs Daniels. We did not know where this was going but our youth dragged a few NDP leaders (NDY) along and what themselves. Suddenly it appeared as a united front of 19 organizations. We missed the ball here in my opinion as I told the comrades at the branch meeting by not immediately sending in a representative of the L.A. However it didn't last long as any kind of united front. The second meeting of the publicity committee which one of the youth was on (a three man committee) held in conjunction with a three man ad hoc executive found our man surrounded. About 20 CPers suddenly appeared, and here again we missed the ball for there was no one there from the NDY--just our comrade and the CPers. A hassle developed over the leaflet--we wanted it to tie up US racism with the hate literature issue here and link it with fascism. The CP would have none of this and in frustration our comrade pulled out with the threat that the YSF might put its own leaflet. But of course we did no such thing--the affair was rolling and we were not going to play into the CP's hands permitting them to present us as splitters and sectarians. The CP leaflet was pretty poor, implicitly supported Johnson--because of the phoney civil rights legislation--no link up to Canada, etc. But one of our youth was in charge of distribution and we and the CP carried out the distribution the morning before the first large demonstration.

From then on in the CP just took over. All the marshals were theirs. They tried to pressure the youth to take down their YSF placard. But we stood firm telling them ~~xxxxxxx~~ what the agreement had been and that we were maintaining it as long as the NDY did. One of the marshalls urged the cops to prevent us from distributing the Vanguard



And the next day the good Rabbi Feinberg pulled off the same stunt-- before a couple of big cops he made it known that he would be quite pleased if we were prevented from circulating the paper. Feinberg and Eamon Park of Steel-NDP-CLC and a couple of others then suddenly appeared as a committee of five seeking ~~in~~ meeting with the Lion's brass with no success. They put themselves at the head of the whole affair and the CP pulled right back into the the underground. The meeting held in Allan Gardens where Milt and others established free speech right after the pickets saw a Negro NDP unionist who consistently carries the CP line and Mrs Daniels pulled right back and turn the platform over to Parks and Feinberg. The Park comments covered two points---the demonstration was peaceful--- US racism compromises the international image of the West, on the U.S. ✓ Feinberg was much more militant, linked up racism to facsism but exonerat the Lions.

A really significant mobilization of Toronto in solidarity with the Negro struggle, a valuable experience for us--and it seems to me to be an event that can lay the grounds for future joint activities. Fortunately the Vanguard had a lead article on Johnson's civil right legislation and the Deberry candidature. We made several worthwhile contacts and there is no doubt the paper had considerable impact.

Ernie sent me the plan of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ new headquarters---seems to me that we could not want anything better.

The student tour seems to be rolling along --I gather Ruth sent you a letter from Mexico City. They are now of course in Cuba. Hope you ~~manage~~ to come across them during your visit.

There are ~~two~~ people you must see when in Cuba --Prof-Fred(?) Brown who ~~xxxx~~ the Silverman says sees eye to eye with us. And Nelson Zayas Pazos. I will give Joe both their addresses. In so far as Joe is concerned you should have no hesitation in confiding in him completely. I am hoping that you will be able to gain a real insight in the trade union movement and the party

fraternally



Ross

Sent the minutes onto ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ all of you out there as soon as we got an English translation from Alan



Port McNicoll

Jim  
Toronto July 16, 1964

Dear Tom

That little pink marking at the date is from my fumbling with the ribbon. Everyone who has used the typewriter over the last week was waiting for me to adjust the ribbon.

Well when are you going to kick that place. It sounds like a very poor situation to be in for a holiday. Of course it can be serving one purpose--show you how idyllic your relationship is with Jim. Why don't you suddenly receive a telegram to the effect that Jim has caught the flu and needs you to make the barley soup--or your mother is pregnant--anything. Then head out for some pleasant summer hotel area such as Barrie. I spent a weeks holiday once in a hotel on the south shore of Lake Simcoe--good beach, warm water, lots of sun, fairly quiet--read. Jim could bring you up your paints and a pile of books and several boxes of chocolates.

I haven't given much thought to your speech but here are a few ideas;

Of course it should largely be a celebration of the revolution. We should talk about the terrible conditions under which it developed--the Batista dictatorship the apparent hopelessness of the task--the heroism of the leadership--the power of the revolution, the integrity of the leadership, their evolution--the transition to a socialist development. The achievements. Not only is socialism desirable but it is possible, the capacity of the people to win, their capacity to create a leadership. Their success in standing up to the most powerful imperialist nation in the world. Then of course there are problems--the lack of cadre, the problem of sectarianism the need for institutionalizing democracy

I would like to hear it developed not necessarily with a direct tie in but at least indirectly answering all the doubts that Canadians have about the possibility of building a socialist Canada--the power of the capitalist class, the lack of class consciousness of the workers, America won't let us--what a tremendous vindication Cuba is of all our ideas. I do not know whether it would be appropriate but Br Guiana--its tragedy is proof of the need to make a revolution, to take the path of armed insurrection. The same problem is posed now in Chile--this would open up the possibility of talking about the Cuban way and its particular application to Latin America a

Jim brought Donahue to the meeting last night after a stint on the Star picket line. The girls will be in town tonight--late--Hugh just phoned to say that he is fairly sure that he is on TV in another 7 minutes. The TV came into the labor council meeting and with the Typos putting out an information newspaper today he raised the whole idea of a labor paper in Toronto.

You won't know the place upon your return--Bea and I have been tearing into the pile of papers, clippings, magazines the last few days and so we can almost now move around.

Warmest regards

Ross



Algeria

July 25, 1964

Dear Art

Tomorrow the Student tour will be celebrating the 26th of July in Santiago de Cuba, the Toronto FPCC will be having a picnic at Ward's Island but I am so far behind that I will be working on the paper and so have decided to send off this short during the Saturday evening lull at 81.

Bob received your article and it will be in the paper which should be off for sure on Monday. I overheard a few complaints about it--that it could have been written here, far from the lilting wailing music of Islam, the searing heat of the desert and the stench of the Casbah but you made it anyway because I saw the page proof the otherday when I picked it up at the printer.

Another matter of immediate concern--Bob would like you to send him the addresses of Felix and some other chap. That is if you have them or can tell him where to locate them. I will have to leave off the sad tale of our loss of the previous information we had until your return. Apparently he wants to contact them long in advance of the term to get hopping on the COFE project.

We are managing to keep the banner flying despite your and the Cuba tourists absence. In fact Toronto and I think Vancouver have even managed to do some recruiting. Everyone has been busy. I hope the Algerian press reported the tremendous demonstration here in Toronto held in solidarity with the Negro struggle in the US on the occasion of Governor Wallace's visit here to the Lion's convention. I have written up a short note for the U.O. and Militant. We played a bigger role than would seem. Through our contacting Joe Maslin and his pressing the Labor council to protest the whole matter opened up and the council provided a platform for calls for a massive demonstration. Our Youth commenced pressure here and there and finally with the Anti-Apartheid committee as a front the NDY we and the CP got a committee underway. Of course there were the usual CP shenanigans...but the thing came off on an impressive scale. We distributed the Vanguard with its exposure of the Johnson legislation much to the chagrin of the CP and the good Rabbi himself who both tried to get the cops to stop us.

Today we followed this up by joining in on the celebration of the English legislation freeing the slaves--there was a march here. Our contingent --we spanned three--the LSA--the NDY--and the YSF was quite impressive in a modest parade and larger than the CP under the anti-apartheid committee.

The Trailblazers were in last Sunday to join us in a picnic at Hart Lake and make a switch in staff-Naomi went off on a holiday with John and Bea B took her place. Their moral is high and they have all developed amazingly. Taking on all and everyone. We tallied the subs and found that they had not done as bad as they had thought--3/4 of what the last male team got in the same area..many more renewals. No doubt the change in climate, the tapering off of enthusiasm for the NDP and the difficulty that women have to sell to women have been big factors in this.



They are now in Hanover scene of a militant strike a few months ago after working Bradford the scene of a militant strike of packers, mostly women-reported in last Vanguard.

I hope you got a previous letter I sent you. I think I also sent you a package of papers second class airmail but I am not sure now with the various bundles we are sending out to our various agents. Hope you can keep up with the international press. Can you obtain Peking Review Number 29 in the English edition. Contains the latest important statement which will very seriously limit the impact of the Chinese. It deals with K and the Soviet society--stands everything on its head. Identifies the de-stalinization arising from the rebirth of the revolution with a capitalist counter-revolution. Characterizes Yugoslavia as state capitalist and talks not a a bureaucracy but the mounting forces of capitalist restoration. Has the usual anti-Trotskyist crap in it.

Our own Maoists are up to something but really too early to tell. Scott was here--came into the bookstore incognito--I got into an argument on the Chinese position on Yugoslaviabefore he identifies himself. It seems he at least carries the Chinese line in its totality--Promised to come back when I was free of the store but never did. He and others had a conference here last weekend. A Windsor contact of ours dropped in before the affair and I had a lengthy talk with him on some of the problems of regrouping the revolutionists in this country. I will write him to see what happened. My impression is that Scott doesn't have much contact. The entire club was expelled-dissolved--and they are rejoicing after taking certain pledges as members at large. I am afraid that for a while we may end up with a counterpart of PL and even more sectarian if that is possible.

Vancouver has moved very boldly to meet this problem--my impression is that that is about the only place that the Maoists have an real force. Well our new headquarters and store changes the relationship of forces on the left strongly in our favor. They have a hall of unbroken space as big as our extended back to the bar, a store right across from the two largest second hand stores(book) with a full length window, and enough space left over as big as our hall again plus area for offices for the YSF and the LSA.

We will try to move out of our place here before you return to spare you a lot of work--lease is up next month and I am on the prowl.

warmest regards

Ross



81 Queen Street West  
Toronto, Ont.  
August 4, 1964

Stan Gray

Dear Stan;

Dick has forwarded your note to him for action.

Alan Engler who I gather you know is in Vancouver. Unfortunately I do not have a phone number. He can be contacted through the new headquarters that we have set up at 1208 Granville in the center of town. He works a late night shift so would probably be there fairly early in the day. If he is not there I would think that some other comrade would be who could tell you how to make contact with him. In the off chance that ~~you~~ this is not so you might phone Ruth Bullock at 354 West 16th Street North Vancouver. I know that she has a phone whereas our organizer Ernest Tate may not

And of course you must drop in on us in Toronto at 81 Queen Street W across from the new city hall. Either Cliff Orchard or myself is here practically all the time. Cliff's phone number is on the door --I do not have a phone.

As for other points in your run. While we have subscribers and connections in Saskatoon and Winnipeg we do not have anyone who is in a position to put you up etc. But when you are in Regina be sure to look up Brian Rands--I take it he would be back from Cuba by then. His folks are extremely friendly and run what might be called an open house to leftists. The Rands house is at 3630 Argyle Road

Under separate cover I am sending you several items which along the line which Dick suggests you would like to receive.

Fraternally

Ross Dawson







think that the danger is real and urgent and is actual a powerful argument for anti-capitalist struggle here in Canada

~~xxxxxxx~~ The CP has changed or at least modified its position on the question of independent trade unions in this country. I am not sure just when the change took place, as I do not have access to any party documents but it has taken place within the same broad political context... utilization of the struggle of the Canadian working class in the big power maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy. For an extended period and up until fairly recently their line was that there were progressive forces in the ranks of the Canadian bourgeoisie--I think Buck once said who "put the interests of the nation before profit," with whom it was necessary for the workers to unite and of course tailor their own program in such a way as to either achieve this unity or maintain it. At that period the CP line was to subject the working class struggle to the task of widening whatever breaches they could find or hope to find between the American capitalist class and their capitalist allies. Apparently Khrushchev now thinks that he has a real possibility of collaboration with the big power itself and is no longer seeking a lever to pressure Wall Street to an understanding.

For socialists this whole question of a separate Canadian trade union center has to be determined on a totally different basis---on whether it furthers the anti-capitalist struggle, the struggle for socialism.

But what do you hear from Scott? I have been surprised--Really disappointed I should say--to hear that he and his group in Vancouver have gone ahead and constituted themselves along independent organizational lines. Probably you are aware that they have set themselves up as The Labor-Progressive Movement. According to the LSA organizer there, Ernest Tate, they did so in ~~under~~ they ~~had~~ launched the organization under rather unusual circumstances. They called a meeting in the name of the organization which featured a movie on ~~xxxx~~ on the Viet Cong and during which there was no time to expand on the circumstances surrounding the launching of such an organization. I understand that Scott who spoke on the current US aggressive actions there or another comrade stated that they had no statement of purpose or anything to pass around but asked interested persons to leave their name and address. I gather that their meeting itself was a big success that over 350 persons turned up. The movie I understand was one that there had been some difficulties over showing in the US.

I am somewhat disappointed as I think I explained when you were here that I have been hoping we could have a series of ~~xxxxxxx~~ common discussions on the major political issues of the day to see if we could not launch a united movement of Marxist-Leninists--or if this proved impractical that the differences on the basis of this experience would be clearly and well defined for all interested to understand. Once an independent organization is launched it is much more difficult to realize a unity--first the new organization has to fight hard to justify its creation--it has to draw lines. Of course we can anticipate some ~~xxxxxxx~~ useful united front activities and some new experiences which can overcome the division in the ranks of those who call themselves as we do to Marxist-Leninists.

I would be interested in hearing of any information you receive on this development and of course your own opinions. Looking forward to hearing from you first occasion you have

with revolutionary socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

on my poor typing job--I am a two finger man,



August 21, 1964

re, Duke Mill

Montreal

Dear Dick

(4)  
Well Art arrived back from Algeria, France and England and we have had a short preliminary discussion—and the tour romped in—theydeserted Potemkin at a gas station somewhere between Peterboro and Oshawa. It broke down—apparently almost completely so we will be sending a rescue squad out to bring it in over the weekend.

Received your very prompt response to the international fund. It started off things well. John R took pledges last Wednesday and we came very close to the Toronto objective right off.

Re the reaction to the RIN article. ~~mmm~~ Your response to a letter to the editor idea has some merit ~~mm~~ and if you insist I am greeable. However I think that it is unnecessary and there ~~hasa~~ bad aspect to it too. There were three comrades who raised the matter—Al, Ernie and Mike. I think that they have in part read something into the article. The development of the PSQ ~~mmmm~~ and its promises I think turned some of the comrades into crusaders—a testimony to the serious interest our comrades have in Quebec. As you have no doubt experienced with other crusaders you have met they sometimes resent reservations. More important than the reactions of these comrades to me would be the reactions of our connections in Quebec—the reactions of PSQers. How did they take it. My feeling is that they would understand this article—would possibly respond to its call for action from the PSQ. I think unless there is some confusion as to the meaning of the article amongst our Quebec readers that it is best that we do not put ourselves into a position of spelling our doubts about the PSQ out at this time.

Of course it is very difficult for comrades to maintain communications. Ernie as you probably know is working full time—and I suppose both he and Alan have been working the store which is a very confusing experience for a considerable period. They write me as often as they can and there are often big gaps here involving quite important matters. We never heard about the proscription of the LSA by the provincial leadership out there until almost a month after the event and through a passing comment. We never got any statement upon which we could base a counter-statement or press release until a couple of days ago—less than a week away from a session that the leadership arranged for three persons who are apparently to be confronted with the implementation of the proscription. Whether it is because the Scott group have completely cut them off or no I do not know but we heard through the Trailblazers about the Scott group's expulsion—they picked up a copy of an appeal written up by Scott from some Windsor contacts. I sent this item out to Vancouver for their information.

Since you are of a good old Canadian stock with your roots deep into the soil you are well familiar with the saying that it is the wheel that squeaks that gets the oil. Translated into the vernacular of the times—it is only when things are amiss do you ~~mmmm~~ get substantial evidence that people are aware of your existence. I have heard nothing but praise, comments of great satisfaction about the material that you have been sending into the Vanguard. I have probably been your only knocker—because of the length of your submissions and my fear to rouse your ire. It is sad but you will have to become used to the experience of having people hold their praise and satisfaction in reserve but on the other hands express their doubts disatisfactions and grievances real and otherwise with alacrity. I can assure you that your contributions are anticipated with enthusiasm by everyone—but myself.







you already have some impressions of Mike that are not too favorable. I am very much concerned that Mike be welcomed ~~for him~~ for the considerable contribution he is making in going to Montreal. I know that he really would like to stay on here—but then sees the situation there as a challenge. And I am concerned that you as a leader should go out of your way to help him overcome some of his shortcomings and aid him make the biggest contribution that he possibly can. He will possibly need some help. If you comrades prove unable to give him the ~~necessary~~ necessary help we will underwrite it.

Lots of other things that should be said but while I was planning to spend this weekend on the paper I have already been informed that I am speaking in the park, attending a meeting to assess the tour, going to a social to welcome Art and the tour back and possibly heading a PC meeting to among other things hear a report by Art.

warmest regards

Ross Dawson



August 21, 1964.

Toronto LSA

Dear Comrades:

Certain aspects of a press release issued by comrade Dowson on the Riverdale by-election on May 15, following a short discussion on the Toronto LSA floor, were referred back to the Political Committee.

The PC discussed the release in the light of what could be recalled of the ~~previous~~ various comments and I have been instructed to inform you of its opinion.

The release was issued when it looked possible that the NDP leadership might opt out of the Riverdale by-election in favor of the Liberals, or, more probable, put on a token campaign. The statement of intention to run an LSA candidate in such an eventuality was largely designed to help prevent such a situation. The PC considers this to have been a good tactical maneuver completely permissible within the framework of our orientation as adopted by your national convention.

The commencing of the press release with the words, "The Trotskyists may run a candidate ..." has been questioned. In formal statements of the League we have presented it as being composed of Trotskyists and left-wingers in the NDP. We do not consider that the way that the term Trotskyist has been used in this release constitutes a change in this respect -- that we are now assuming this "barebones" designation which would be interpreted by some to more clearly mark the League out as a party, and that we are not longer continuing despite the expulsions, to present ourselves as a legitimate current within the NDP.

This portion of the release does not in any way constitute an official declaration in this respect. The daily press for which it was written is as we know not at all interested in what for it are legalistic subtleties. The League is for them Trotskyist --- ideologically. Longstanding and firmly integrated CCFers and NDPers are being expelled for LSA association, for Trotskyism. The right wing leadership of the CCF and NDP have been labelling legitimate currents in these movements for some time as Trotskyist. The opening sentence of the release was written in this context and so written as to get immediate attention from the city desks of the daily papers and a favorable consideration from them.

Press releases, and so too with speeches in park meetings must permit a certain flexibility, always of course within the framework of our principled positions. The purpose of this release was to win immediate attention and wide publicity in our attempt to block the NDP brass from failing in its elemental responsibility to the party and the rank and file. This is itself so strong and so apparent an identification with the NDP that we do not see how the formulation in the opening sentence presents any serious danger of being misconstrued.

fraternally,

(signed)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

P. Kent.



August 25, 1964

Montreal

Dear Dick

Received your letter for literature on the national question.

Sent right off in the mails the Mason Wade book---but the price somewhat as the book seems soiled. Also included the pamphlet that pulls together Lenin's basic views on the question. Threw in Marx on the colonial question also. The Right of Self Determination is in the Lenin book I sent but there is other material also.

Fred took down the bound volumes I had been saving here for some years so you must have almost a complete set. Possibly you do not have the master index however. Since I am in the store today I have been able to scan our index and note the following articles that may be useful

~~Revue internationale~~

~~Revue internationale~~

Sept-Oct--1942

December 1942

January 1943

January 1945

November 1945

April 1946

Winter 1956

Summer 1958

mostley Trotsky

I assume that you have the old man on the Negro question and all the recent material by the SWP. When I have an opportunity I will search a little more thoroughly and see what I can find.

Bob has Connolly I take it---there is one volume strictly on the national question and very useful I think. Bob also has the slim little volume that Wade has written on French Canada since his large volume came out

"Socialist House" sounds very good to me---the set up and the name itself is not too bad either. You will have to strike off a bookkeeper---heating oil will be quite an expense but with the facilities available it looks like a good financial proposition. It certainly opens up all kinds of new possibilities for us---for you aren't in business until you have an address

Of course we must have an item in the paper on it. It will give all the comrades a lift and there is no question impress everyone in between, right over to our opposition both in the ~~labor~~ working class movement and the establishment itself. No wonder it has spread quickly through Montreal radical circles.

What can we do to help? Can you use some manpower for a period---say the holiday weekend? It is possible that several of the comrades would go down and put in a couple of days solid labor getting it in order. John and Shihla Steel are here now and they have a Volkswagon cravan I guess they call it. We could transport a bunch of us and also some donations to the set-up. We have a gas stove here---we have some new furniture in the back and could give you the old. What do you think ---for I think it can be organized.

Let j



Socialist House as I say couldn't come at a better time. Don't know whether the local press reported on the LSA proscription--here they never said a word although Peter H tells me that CBC News broadcast not once but twice on our release-protest to the press. Finally today they carried the enclosed short report on the provincial council's Saturday meeting. Haven't heard anything from Vancouver yet. Our Maoists have also gone ahead blindly with the formation of an independent organization. A week or so ago I received a lengthy friendly letter from Cliff Gunter who Pat and I have lengthy discussions with when he was in town attending a meeting called by Jack Scott. The letter posed several important political questions which struck me at the time as somewhat formal. He ~~was~~ opened up with some friendly congratulatory comments about the article in last issue on Canada-Cuba and the CAS. I took advantage of the opportunity to tell him about the Vancouver meeting called by Scott and company--first action of a Labor Progressive Movement--to see a film on Vietnam. I expressed great disappointment that an organization had been set up presumably of Marxist-Leninists without a serious attempt being made to see if it was possible for a fusion with other Marxist-Leninists. I got an answer in the mail within a day or so. It was a report and statement of purpose of the new national organization that had been agreed upon at conferences in London, Vancouver and Toronto with Cliff Gunter listed as editor of a periodical they plan to put out.

The statement completely ignores the NDP. It hails the CNTU and urges all other Canadian unions to affiliate to it. It is just the crude national chauvinism of the CP. They don't even make a clear pro-Peking position so I do not see how they can expect to go anywhere. But they have set up a house in Vancouver and now we have them checkmated in Montreal. Incidentally they have something in Montreal but I have nothing concrete as yet. Haven't decided yet whether we will comment on this statement and so far have only one copy here.

But I must get on with other matters. I take it you have received my letter to you since you wrote your last two. Yes--Mike will be ~~going~~ heading into Montreal this coming Friday night I think. He will be writing to you.

The Cuba tour is in this coming Saturday morning at 5

warmest regards

Ross



August 25, 1964

Vancouver

Dear Ruth;

It happened much quicker, it turned out to be a much more routine matter than I thought it would. I am enclosing a clipping from this morning's paper which I just picked up with the mail which contained a report by the Montreal comrades of their opening up of a "Socialist House."

Ernie sent us a copy of the article that appeared in the Province following the statement we issued to the press. I see everyone ignores the BC Democrat with its lengthy article by The Staff. The proscription of the LSA only became a fact with our issuing of a statement of protest, which incidently not even a part of which appeared anywhere to my knowledge. The Canadian Press picked it up and according to some comrades it was over CBC in part. The press here ignored it. And that goes for the Toronto Telegram who phoned following the appearance of the article in the Province. The only representative was no less Donald Stevenson, NDP candidate in St Pauls (Toronto). I wonder if he phoned on behalf of the NDP brass to see what I would say. At anyrate nothing appeared in the Telegram.--Stevenson incidently is going through the picket line although the Guild there has a clause in their contract that protects ones job if one refuses to go through and the Guild itself pays something like 30 dollars a week to anyone not going through.

I hope that you are sending in something for publication right now--as we are going to press. It is best that we cover it completely in this issue ---I wrote Ernie a short note to this effect about a week ago so probably he passed it on.

*League* I leave it up to you as to how it should be covered. But it seems to me that the ~~League~~ has to make a statement --either in your name or mine. It seems to me from here that you would logically write ~~the~~ an article on your experience anyway. Or is it possible that we could get Clifford to write up such an article? If you write the article which seems to me to be best then I could put my name to the statement--perhaps you would like to actually write both of them. At anyrate no matter what you decide send me any and all ideas, clippings, etc that you have.

The tour came back in last Thursday--the truck broke down and they left it to be picked up later. One of the result is that for the first time here in Toronto we are going to have a woman as organizer--Pat Mitchell is going to stand, Cliff is not going to run so there is little doubt that Pat will be elected. No doubt Jean has developed considerably from the tour. She is a very able and dedicated. Her going is a real loss to Toronto and a substantial gain for Vancouver.

The opening up of "Socialist House" in Montreal is a big and bold move. It is a house very centrally located where a bunch of the comrades will be living and apparently with excellent facilities for meetings, literature display, etc. It was used by the Student Christian movement this summer and has been designated Socialist House by others. I am sure the comrades there will be interested --you might tell them the address--- 3658 rue St Famille, Montreal--probably mail should be addressed to Bob Horn. In a couple of days another colonization will take place ~~in~~ from here to Montreal. I think the last for sometime for of course it is by and large our best people



Well I take it you must be back, Reg. I had a bit of a talk with Joe a week or so ago. He has already spoken to a fairly large meeting out at the Workmen's Circle Camp, is booked to speak at a couple of Workmen's Circle meetings once they get underway this fall --has been enquired about by a Jewish Fraternal organization that was formed by those who split away along with Salsberg following the 20th Congress and the scandals about Soviet anti-Semitism. I don't think that FPCC here has decided yet but it is possible that he will be speaking at the banquet which is not so far off.

What kind of breaks are we going to get with you. I was thinking of suggesting to Joe that it might be worthwhile his writing up a short article--copy that would very nicely fit on two sides of 8 1/2 by 14--for circulation amongst the labor council delegates, possibly his shop and available to anyone and everyone who might ask him about his trip--particularly slanted of course to unionists.

I am wondering if you feel that you have a really accurate picture of the union movement in Cuba. We of course <sup>could</sup> put such an item to good use in the Vanguard --and the Militant not to speak of World Outlook. As far as FPCC is concerned I would suppose another elaborate pamphlet right at this time is not too practical. The student tour seems to me to be more sensational and capable of awakening much greater response. We will have to get to work on such a pamphlet right away. The students will be back here early Saturday morning and school is not very far away and we would need the pamphlet available very early in the school term.

I would be interested in hearing what you think can be done --what the committee in Vancouver has agreed to and what the committee nationally could do--and what the Vanguard and we ourselves can do with our forums etc.

with socialist greetings



Ross Dowson



81 Queen Street West  
Toronto Ont.  
Sept 8, 1964

Alan Harris Jean R

Dear Ernie;

What do I think of your coming in here before the elections?

A big question. I temper my first reaction.... with the question-what will it mean for Vancouver. To be sure things have changed for the better in the past while. But how much so. To be sure Alan is a leader--and in some ways Jean is even more so. But can they rise to the occasion. The situation is complex in Vancouver. I know that you had considerable difficulty in establishing yourself and both Alan and Jean are relatively inexperienced compared to you.

Alan is an able comrade--serious, thinking, dedicated. But he is somewhat unstable emotionally. I recall a few incidents that took place here--oh of course they were soon smoothed over but in a situation where he was ~~the~~ leader and where he might have some serious opposition they could have resulted in something extremely grave. At one time he even told me that he was convinced that I was out to drive him from the party. On another occasion where there was a difference he stormed out of the meeting and then over the phone demanded that an apology be given and where we have not return. where there are no important differences and where we have been able to develop a feeling of group responsibility and leadership these while very upsetting at the time are resolved. No doubt Jean is a big factor in their resolution too. But you can appreciate that they could lead to a very bad situation. Jean is possibly the most ~~xxxxxx~~ remarkable woman that I have met. Extremely honest, very serious and a very warm person. There is no doubt that she does much for Alan. But there is a tough situation in Vancouver

I am not sure how much of a help Ruth T is in such a situation. She is intelligent and has a tremendous drive to learn, to develop but she is a great worrier. Then you have that maverick Ken--and Ruth B (I see she carried her line about not talking to the press right to the bitter end--she must have been furious about my statement to the press that smoked the whole thing into the open)

You say you are confident that the situation is changed sufficiently enough to warrant your return. Well that is the big question for me. Of course one cannot be sure in these matters and no one is asking for a guarantee. Besides I do not think that comrades should have exiles imposed upon them or at least of any extended character.

Politically you can make a big contribution here. You probably know my opinion about the problem of leadership here. We are going to have to make drastic changes in the PC first opportunity---a revolution in fact. We are only really beginning to build a national leadership.

Personally of course I would look forward to your coming here, of course, of course.

I think get the impression from your letter that while you have felt the situation out, out there, that you have not had a formal discussion with the leading comrades. It would seem to me that it should be formally raised



on the old executive.....even if ~~xxx~~ it at this time does not reflect the present situation in the branch. This would be a good opportunity for them --for you to see them face the situation.

affectionately

Ross

I am sending this off immediately upon receipt of your letter, hence not taking up anything else



October 6, 1964

Vancouver

Dear Ernie;

We have sent off in the mail at last the run off of all those who are getting that Vanguard in the Vancouver area. Have also enclosed two or three little items that we got electronic stencils off and which you can probably use sometime. They can be sliced into a regular stencil very easily with the use of adhesive that Gastetner sell. Probably you have done this sometime or another. Whenever we have to get something put on an electric stencil and there is space left over I just add such items on --as they charge you for a full stencil. We have quite a little file of odds and ends now.

I hope that you can write up something for the coming issue over the holiday weekend. I am going to start on the Mid-October issue in the next day or so. ..it will really be the October issue ~~xxxxxx~~ as the October issue was really the September issue. I want to get back into shape again and clear up things for the coming civic election here. What about the NDP convention--is it worth covering--it would seem so to me since we were expelled just a little before it. Besides we should continue to give our apprxcton due to our orientation. Is there any worthwhile way that we can write up the Maoist development? I am not for dragging it into the paper but this is a development of some note and we should give out opinion of it.--when a good opportunity presents itself. What about the trade union front. Is there anything more worthwhile on Britannia Beach. I suppose we are in touch with Bill White. I hope the note on the strike there was ok. Ken had sent me some clippings on the earlier stage and a small item turned up in the G & M and of course we wanted something on BC.

So I am looking forward to having something in here on the Tuesday after the holiday.

I gather you are suprised about the situation with Jerry. Yes, one would think that a comrade"who has been on the NC for as long as Jerry should be on the executive if he wants to." There is only on thing you overlook--the comrades have to want him on--he has to prove himself, he cannot be carried for long by the fact that he is on the NC. I do not think that it is a matter of being or not being able to handle him that anyone voted against him. I am afraid that there is not a leading comrade who supported him, there is not a leading comrade who cosiders him a leader. In fact the question now raised in any serious comrades mind is whether he should be on the NC.

The ludicrous thing is that he brought the whole thing to such a pitch himself. The outgoing executive discussed its slate--and Jerry wasn't on it. we have over the passed year developed an executive which has some prestige and authority--well earned too. He knew he was not on the slate and decided to challenge it. Before doing so he even conceded that it was not at all probable that he could break the slate. In other words he decided to defy the collective judgement exectiv as to his worthiness for office ....even knowing that he would in all probability be defeated--he hoped to break it by winning support of comrades who are less experienced, less knowledeful.



I thought that it would be a real setback if he were elected organizer. Well he disagreed. Then I had some discussions with him during which he conceded to me that he would in all probability be defeated--and to be defeated after how he described Cliff's shortcomings is to demand that everyone declare to you how they evaluate you on one hell of a plane. Well he went ahead. Now he does it again. He gets defeated. And amazing, not satisfied with this he puts his name forward for the social committee--a committee which we have always had a hard time to fill--and gets defeated there, too. Well in no uncertain way the comrades have told him what they think and he forced the issue. That is bad on several counts. One of our newest comrades commented to Pat that he didn't see how Jerry could be on the NC--and it is true. ~~Now~~ he forced everyone to stand up and declare themselves on the lowest possible plane ---their answer shows what they think and at the same time shows him to be a very foolish politician on the lowest possible plane. The joker is that he in some ways doesn't seem to understand it all. I was worried as to what he must be thinking after the debacle and got Pat M to phone him to arrange a discussion as to his work in the branch. I know it is pretty well useless for him to have such a discussion. He got into a long discussion with her the result of which was that he would come down to an executive meeting but first the executive has to meet beforehand work out some proposals and he would come down and debate with them. So this tangent was cut off by him. Since then he seems to be moving along as before as if nothing has happened.

I can assure you there was no campaigning against him. Our comrades have just been observing a few things. After Cliff's election last year you will recall he refused to stand for the executive with the statement that he would never sit on an executive that had Cliff on it--such a person--I forget the adjective--as Cliff on it. That type of comment made a strong impression. I have tried not to grind an axe but everyone of course knows how he has refused after being on the payroll of the store as soon as he was cut off although he was the only trained person in anyway to have anything at all to do with the store--even sit in it on a Friday night. Then more recently there is the Harry Kopyto case. The youth have been more than tolerant with this comrade, who tied them up in knots with his nonsense of resigning. You can be sure that Jerry's apologetics for Harry and his gratuitous attack on the youth leadership for being responsible did not go over big. The LSA passed a motion to the effect that he must withdraw his resignation from the youth or lose his membership in the LSA as his main area of activity was in the high schools and we were not opening up the branch to directly direct his work as we had a youth group involved in this area. ~~When~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ This seems to me to be quite elementary however Jerry spoke and voted against it. Harry did not comply so we dropped him from membership. He made an appeal and thanks Jerry we had to go to some lengths to hear it--it was a scandal but Jerry supported the appeal.

Then there is there is the latest item you refer to --the press release on Broadview. Jerry stated his opinion on the PC and the PC voted. The letter was read from the PC and lo and behold if Jerry doesn't take the floor and present all the arguments that he made on the PC to the branch in what if he was successful could only result in a repudiation of the PC. A comrade had moved not just filing but approval of the PC's position and Jerry led an opposition attack. What do you think serious comrades think of that. I did not at the time and have yet raised the matter of this breach by him.



I of course upheld the PC's position, the letter--but the comrades are not stupid. Jerry has consistantly taken an anti-party position and we happenix to be developing some strong party comrades. He has nothing to contribute on the day to day problems of the branch--he will sit silent in meetings dragging on his pipe night after night.

There is no question that Jerry is a dedicated comrade-- and that in many ways he is a hard worker--although I must ad a hard worker in so far as he personally approves of the work--he is really a loner. But he has been demonstrating for some considerable time that he is not a leader. How I would ask ~~it would~~ you expect the exsutive to intervene. Do you think they should have been told to put him on the slate. Possibly they could have been hammered into doing so. But I am afraid you could convince none of the leading comrades that he has anything to offer--~~anything good at all~~ in the area of leadership that is any good at all--and much that is bad.

We have some very serious and very critically minded comrades. Jerry's forums are not very good. They very rarely get off the very lowest plane. They are dry as dust, much too short and quite uninteresting. Some of the comrades were very indignant about the last couple and I had to tell them that that is Jerry you know and there is no use compalining. The only alternative if you think it is so bad is to not ask him to speak.

It is altogether vvery sad. But he seems to be peculiarly insensitive to the whole situation or indifferent. He just goes his own way. You know sooner or later you have to draw conclusions about one another. --and it is obvious to all the serious more experienced comrades that Jerry is not a leader regardless of his many other merits. For any responsible persons to continue to try to prop him up ~~in~~ would be false and what we are now faced with is the question of his being on the NC-PC. The Toronto comrades quite decilvely with him forcing the issue all the way have said what they think of him as a leader. Do you think that he can continue to be a member of the PC-NC--a body the prestige of which is of considerable concern to us when the comrades in the area in which he works do not want him to be even on the social committee.

I have gone into these details so that you can tell me what you think --as it does seem to me to be of some importance. What is happening is that we are at long last making some progress in building a leadership and some persons who acted in those roll in large part because there was no one else if they dont step aside are going to ~~be~~ have to be replaced by the process of elections. We have some young people coming along who really are leaders and of course they are going to demand the positions and responsibilities of leadership. We had this last convention with Alan. Alan knew by looking around that he is a leading comrade--that other persons on the leading bodies are not able or do not play this rol and the fact that no allowance was made for this hurst him ,upset him considerably. It is no secret to anyone that the present PC in Toronto is inoperative. John has good judgement but has no political inintiative. Cliff has some initiative but no judgement, Jerry is not just a cipher but plays a distinctly negative roll. We can only go along so far like this and I think it is about as far as we can go --to the next conventic. There is going to have to be a real shake-up. The edge has been taken off this to some degree by the expansion and development of the youth. Comrades who would otheriwse be forcing the issue and correctly so have serious responsibilities in the youth



and so have in a way put the whole question aside temporarily you might say. But we have three or four comrades who are very able and very serious---Bob Raphael--a really party man, very serious, dedicated and whole an honor student in maths is completely oriented towards working for the party--he has just married Maralyn Stewart. There is Art Young, very serious, dedicated comrade with a really penetrating mind--has transferred from Waterloo to U of T and will be editor of YSI. There is Hans Modlich, another very serious and dedicated comrade--a real leader although not too articulate. Then there is John Riddell--not sure just where he is going at this time but no doubt a political leader. That is the situation in Toronto not counting Pat M, then there is Montreal. A comrade that we just sent there, while he has some bad mannerisms which make it difficult for some comrades to make a proper assessment in my opinion, is nonetheless a comrade who I think we are going to hear much more from.

Not a bad problem at all that is posed around this Jerry H question I think.

The North Vancouver situation looks very good to me. Reg or Ruth are naturals--couldn't be better.

If it wasn't for the North Van situation Al's idea of running in Vancouver itself would seem to me to be a good one. But N Van is just what we want so it seems to me that we can let Vancouver itself go by the board this year. It would be very good if we could carry a really concentrated campaign in North Van---a model campaign. Y

Yes I think that ~~the~~ the PC-NC should be formally informed of this intention of Vancouver--not that there is anything really questionable involved but it is a good routine for us to start promoting. We are going to have to start tightening up, building a centre--Montreal developments are forcing this too. Last week I received a copy of an invitation to attend the official opening of the headquarters of the Socialist Workers League, Quebec section for the 4th International Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, section quebecoise pour la 4e Internationale. This was done without any previous discussion of any kind that I am aware of which is very bad--and I do not know what this word "Pour" the 4th International means. Dick happened to phone up in a great hurry for some posters of Art Young's from Algeria--they want them for display at the opening and I raised the matter in passing--but haven't heard from him yet.

Found your comments on the Handsbee, Bratten, McGrath, Maoist trade union efforts. It seems to me that this type of action has no real perspective and that we should not really get involved in it. --looks like a typical ultra-leftist action, bound to disillusion and wear out some good people and get nowhere--a substitute to coming to grips with the problems of the real movement, the struggle against the present misleaders in the ~~movement~~ movement, as it really is now constituted. A sort of Red trade unions of the third period. But I think we should keep in touch with it and where possible express our opinion. They may be capable people but politics is superior and they are rotten politicians. Actually the Western Pulp and Paperworkers is a foolish paper, completely out of touch with the thinking of the BC workers and that whole action they got involved in is absurd. I don't know anything about the ~~sp~~ it in the International and the papermakers

Yes I agree with some comments by Ruth B that appear in the minute about keeping contact with all developments, moving in and around everywhere but all the while expounding our own line, building our own



movement. Sometimes we tend to forget this latter matter--this advancing our own line, recruiting people to our own league. Most of our comrades are aware of the danger of getting lost in trade unionism although we are sadly lacking in contact in this area, but you can also get lost in keeping in touch with all the other working class currents and fail to present our own views and fail to actually build our own movement.

What is happening in Toronto---well I see I am not onto the 5th page and I will have to leave that till later.

affectionately

Ross



*(Handwritten letter dated October 7, 1964)*

Dick (F.), Montreal

I hope that this last issue of the Vanguard got there in time for your gala event. I sent it special delivery as I felt sure that you would like to be able to show our reproduction of the parti-pris manifesto to those who turned up. I hope that the way we cut it was satisfactory – or at least the most acceptable. A very risky business to make scattered cuts – bound to make some unhappy. This way everyone is unhappy for the same reason so there is little or no argument. I made the introduction as general as possible – no place for an appreciation. I hope that I have not put the squeeze on you with the statement that the next issue will carry an appreciation. Having published one of the major documents it would seem like a good time to carry the article that you had previously proposed – an appreciation of the various journals and currents.

Unfortunately I have not had an opportunity to read much more than one other article in parti pris. And my French is too poor to get a proper feeling of the subtleties. But it seems to me that they do not have an understanding of the union struggle as a school for communism – that they tend to see them as a static reformist formation. They appear to be very strong for education, study, research; so strongly so that you get a feeling that they have no concept of education through struggle, through participation. The whole thing has a certain naiveté about it all; so clean, so fresh and pure that you would think that there were no experiences prior to theirs.

Of course the main thing is to note how they have developed – to see where they have come from, how far they have got and put forward, advanced the necessary conditions for their further development.

Possibly you are not in a position this weekend to take on such a project. But we do want an article from Montreal in here say Tuesday after the weekend. Of course we want a report of some sort on the opening of the headquarters. Now that you have formally announced it, it should certainly be commented on in the Vanguard. I want to get the next issue off right away so that we don't have too much Vanguard work hanging around when we should be doing everything possible in the election.

Did you get the two parcels of posters in time for everything. I hope that my addressing the first one to (Falconer?) did not cause any difficulties in delivery.

How is the paper coming along? Everyone is looking forward to seeing it and of course if you managed to get it off in the next few days that should get a really big play in our press. And of course it would be best that you write up our appreciation of this event for the Vanguard.

Things are well underway for the (*Toronto municipal –ed.*) election campaign. It would seem (...) that the labor council brass are in some difficulty. We have it on good



authority that the brass are for endorsing Givens, but there is no doubt a strong tendency to look upon Lampport as a progressive of some sort. Unfortunately for them both, the City Council is in the midst (*of a struggle*) with the civic employees. Lampport has been on a save the taxpayers money binge and last Thursday the civic employees representatives did a job on all the candidates who had been elected as labor's friends for failing to stand up for the civic employees demands – one of them did a real job on Lampport as a hypocritical friend of labor. Last Thursday's distribution of the item from the Commonwealth (*the Saskatchewan NDP monthly –ed.*) is the third time that we have hit the labor movement on our candidature should they fail to present a candidate.

Ernie has just written into the centre asking for permission out there for the branch to run a candidate in North Vancouver; the NDP is doing nothing. They are also talking about the Vancouver proper campaign. Alan visualizes a write-in campaign – a real protest job as you have to own property to be a candidate (...) on the voters list. I think we will discourage participation in the Vancouver campaign but encourage the North Vancouver one. Reg would be the candidate, and a very strong one in North Vancouver.

Are you coming in this weekend? I recall your saying that in all probability you would, but possibly you know that (everyone) is headed off to Windsor where the NDY convention is being held. Furthermore, I now realize despite your offer to participate in a forum that nothing at all was done to arrange one with you on it. This Friday night we will be having a speaker from the Typos local – (...)

Should you come in of course we can discuss many matters confronting us (...) We will certainly arrange a PC meeting. But if you do not come in I think you should send us your thoughts of this matter of the Ligue pour the Fourth International. This seems to us to be a most important matter requiring our discussion.

I was intending to write at greater length but there are about a dozen of the youth moving in and around here – interrupting, asking my aid on this or that and so I am going to butt out for my place where I can do more newspaper reading I must do, in relative peace.

Warmest regards, Ross



Oct ber 10, 1964

(MARRIS, Britain?)

Jean R

Dear Alan

Terribly sorry to be so lang in writing you about "home." Things are generally going very well too

Vancouver has got the store in operating co ndition. I have helped Jean with as much sof the details as one can by mail. She is a young comrade who we recruited from the Sask NDP--- very able, the type who impresses you with her absolute honesty and challenges you to respond in kind. She and her husband who we recruited from Ottawa have settled down in ~~xxxxxx~~ and he is doing much to get the youth out there functioning on a Bolshevik basis. All the wind-bags are gone in Vancouver and we are working with new young and vital elements. The store is much better than ours here with offices and hall branching out behind. Dant hear anything from Whitney anymore. Thought for a while that Healy might be able to pick up something in Vancouver--Brown came back with his line but we hear nothing from there either. A Jack Scott has under the pressure of the Chinese formally organized a Maoist group but I t ink we have outmaneuvered it and it will it looks just dwindle away. The expulsion of Ruth and Reg apparently put the skids under the Socialist Caucus group -the right carried off the expulsion without too much trouble--so we now work in splendid isolat ion- --but not quite. The forums are n w operating on a weekly basis and we a recruiting. The situation looks so good according to Ernie who has carried the ball that he was all set to pull out. I do not know just what roll his and Ruth 's breaking up had to do with it. But he was all set to come back to Troto until independently we came oto a common agreement that we had taken on so many new tasks with comrades who are relatively new and inexperienced that he is going to stay on for a period. Not only have we a terrific headquarters about twice as big as ours, a store, with Jean working full time but we will almost certianly be running Reg for Mayor of North Vancouver. ---another first .FPCC work is going to be on a big scale at UBC this year.

Montreal is a big breakthrough too. We have now colonized three comrades-- hot shot Bob Horn, Dick F who has a real capacity for thery and a relatively new comrade who understands French better than any of us and who also has considerable promise as a theoretician. hThen of course there are the Silvermen's returned from Cuba. We have rented a huge down in the center of the town and left considerable space opn for a headquarters. Last Saturday they announced the opening of the headquarters of Ligue Specialiste Ouvriere . The invi ation went out in French and pr bably quite far. We sent down Cuban and Algerian posters to give the place some color. Havent yet heard just how it all came off. We will probably cover it in the next issue. The comrades there plan to put out a French language publication--mimeographed at first--- quite modest. ~~xxxxxx~~ I think they are behind schedule For the first while our work there is going to be quite slow. We need desperately to recuti a couple of French Can adians---they have a couple around them and all are very agresive and moving~~xxxxxx~~ around here and everywhere meeting people. They now have a working force and of course the melieu is extremely favorable

Pat Mitchell has taken hold of the post of organizer--Cliff did the necessary holding job and it is obvious that Pat is going to be able to build the branch in Toronto--she appears to be developing rapidly. But the big development here in



We have some excellent young comrades--most of them university students but all of them without interest in the academic world--some of them openly making it known that they want to work for the movement. There are sufficient of them around here, doing this and that, asking me about that and this that I am right now trying to drive them out--they are going to get a headquarters of their own. There are comrades down here now every night pushing and shoving around here so that it is almost impossible for me to do any serious work. They are working very hard with the paper and really need a public address, they all agree, in order to effectively profit from it. It is silent more or less right now as 12 to 14 are out of town for the weekend to attend the New Democratic youth convention in Windsor. It is obvious that we are making strides in pulling together some genuine leadership material--and just in time too. We have been working through those comrades who have been filling in. This is one of the reasons why Ernie was all set to come in here. He always looked on his stay in Vancouver as a temporary one probably his break-up with Ruth has brought the idea of returning up again. ~~The situation is not very good. Jerry has not only shown his shortcomings but has positively discredited himself. There was no one for instance who thought that he should be on the branch executive. The executive did not put him on their slate. For some reason I cannot really fathom even though he admitted that he would not probably win he decided to break the slate by running. Well he was defeated and then of all things he decided to run for social committee--that famous committee which we have always had difficulty filling. This action struck me as a sort of blackmail. Well he was defeated in this bid too. It is going to be hard to elect Jerry to the NC PC when the branch of which he is a member does not consider him qualified to be on its executive of 5-7 persons and then its social committee which is substantially a joe job committee. Cliff is a fine comrade, loyal, committed but really when you get down to it not a leader, not really aware of and not really concerned with the problems of the movement, without any real critical faculty. Whereas John W who does have judgement and understanding is without any real initiative at all. So far to a large degree we have so far had a leadership of opportunity, comrades who were loyal and committed ideologically were fitted into the gaps. But now it seems to me we are getting into a position of forming a team of comrades who are leaders in their own right. The transition in a couple of cases will be a little difficult but we are going to make it~~

This is the next big step for us--and when we make this we can really start to think in terms of ~~building~~ building a national movement. The colonization of Vancouver--the branch is practically completely new except for Ruth and Reg--the colonization of Montreal--will be all that we will be doing for some while--until we really come to grips with building a centralized leadership.

The youth have made an important breakthrough in Ottawa--through the good patient plugging of Peter Schulz. We have a functioning group of excellent young militants in the New Democratic youth

A continued breakdown of the left is taking place. The decline of the CP is pitiful to behold. They have scrapped their youth organization. The NDP-NDY has become more and more an apparatus and instead of an ~~area~~ area of operations for us it has become more and more an orientation which ~~provides~~ provides rather limited forces with a projection of the path to power you might say, of the possibilities latent in the working class movement. We are being thrust more and more into creating our own area of activity. For instance at the time of the crisis provoked by the US in the Gulf of Tonkin we contacted the CP, the Endicott group and the various pacifist groups and got no response from them at all--so we went ahead on our own and within hours we were able to mount a picket of our own of about 40 persons. Our comrades in Vancouver were ~~compelled~~ and proved able to do the same. What with the defection of the liberal element and then the ~~split~~ CP pulling out and setting up their own Cuba outfit we proved able to carry FPCC and with the tour project even re-establish it on a broader basis--we were able to win the collaboration of quite an eminent group to function as the tour project.



The union movement is continuing to decline--the brass are suffering a certain paralysis. The only place where there is any progress is in Quebec with the CNTU. They talk about the white collar but are doing nothing about it--While the labor force grows and the percentage of organized workers declines ~~the union movement~~ automation cuts into their ranks the bosses armed with new legal tools are hitting them hard on ~~the~~ various outposts. We are getting some of the youth into industry but the atmosphere is discouraging--it is long range.

A sort of thumbnail sketch. As you can imagine moral is quite high in such a situation. The youth really push their paper---sell 5 to 700 each issue at the various high schools which is a really big job. And they are kicking in the money. We raised a fair amount probably over \$400 for the international and then Toronto has decided to raise another 1000 for its election campaign--this over and above our annual Spring fund drive. The sub work in Toronto is on a bigger scale and it looks like things will be changing this way in Vancouver too. Two bookstores and now three headquarters.

And where are our copies of the Militant which we are reading about ?

with warmest regards

Ross



October 10, 1964

Dear Reba and Joe; *Hinsley, QWP, New York*

a little silence over here for a change--about 12 of our youth are away in Windsor delegates to the New Democratic Youth Convention--and some of the rest of our forces must be tired out after the social last night--so I can write you a short note without being disturbed. And don't think that that isn't a big problem these days. I am putting the heat on them to get a headquarters of their own because they have taken ours away from us and are constantly ~~interrupting~~ interrupting with what do I think of this and where can we find that etc. Not only can I not think in terms of continents but I can't even think in terms of Canada or much more than Toronto.

Did someone send you The Age of Permanent Revolution yet? Dell swung it into Canada very rapidly--in the past we have sometimes been 6 months and more behind the US release. They are servicing it through all the stands--we got 4 copies like the other 2,000 outlest in the Toronto area. So far we have only been able to get another seventy which we sold out. I hear that it is going like hotcakes in the University of BC bookshop. A tremendous breakthrough for us--George's selection of course is excellent and but for that crap about the old man's prevision on Bolshevism and the comments about the Fourth the introduction by Deutcher is superb. He certainly effectively presents the old man as the tutor on all the immediate and burning questions of today. It will be a big commercial success for Dell and I hope that some of the big language publishers pick it up. From the archives, to current shelves right into pockets--tremendous. A very beautiful technical job too.

We are getting ready for the municipal elections and not only in Toronto where I will be running again in all probability along with one of the girls who was on the Trailblazers this summer--but also in Vancouver--North Vancouver for the first time. If Alan were here I probably would not run but he is the only other person who has contested an election and the comrades feel that we cannot run two inexperienced candidates. We have taken three big slaps at the NDP and trade union brass so far without even entering a candidate. Despite the fact that all the East ern half of Toronto is NDP provincially and federally, it looks like they will be supporting one of the Liberal contenders--the public decision is next week but in the meantime we have hit hard as the promoters of independent labor political action, with three leaflets--one distributed on a large scale to the labor day parade.

We received a letter from Alan about the same time as yours of the 26th Spet although we are still looking forward to getting some copies of the new Militant. Things look very good from here--I see Sam really came through. Good to see we made the headway we did before the election and that we have a paper. A paper putting forward a public policy and needing to be circulated will do much to clarify our relations with many of these people. I gather the latest ISR is going to be used on a big scale in England against Healy. Well the fat is in the fire--can hardly wait to see the latest gossip, what Ernest said about who etc. The editorial in the ISR was very funny but perhaps a little far out for its readers other than in England. The man is really cutting the SLL off from the Labor Party--agonizing to read the Newsletter in these days of the general election. Everyone cannot help but feel ~~and~~ impatient for us to get moving there

I see from the US minutes that we are going to have a bibliography on the situation in the workers states. I am wondering if sometime when it appears propitious if you would raise the idea of our getting a good lengthy article that could be published in pamphlet form on the history of the 4th international.



I have noted a considerable interest around here--our youth are very much interested in our history--they forced me to give two classes on the history of the Canadian movement and there is just no way out of my eventually having to write something up. But interest in the FI must be rising everywhere. Pierre wrote something up some while back and Pablo wrote one up more recently. I haven't read Pierre's but Pablo's is not very good and besides it has his name all over it. We need something with a bold sketch of the 1st second and third--then the fourth, it would be well to include the old man's speech we have on record. We would be very happy to put out the English language edition

Everyone is pleased to see WO coming out again. After we see the results with another issue or so we will know whether to raise the bundle order several copies. I will get down to the business again of seeing you get the odd article. I would write one up on the Queen's visit to Quebec tonight but I am thinking that our Montreal comrades will be sending you one. The whole thing blew up in their face. It was like the day of the conquest again with the Queen riding into the city from Wolfe's Cove through ~~empty streets~~ empty streets of a conquered city. Can't puzzle out why les Anglais, the confederationsits ~~held this affair~~ held this affair -- in Kenya and Tanynakika they can at least round up a few natives but here she met no one but Premier Lesage and entourage, considerably discrediting them.

Our girls are realling com ng through Reba. The new Toronto branch organizer is Patricia Mitchell--she headed up the Trailblazers--and I must say she ~~looks~~ looks like the best yet. She is working full time--part of it in the store. In effect another one of the Trailblazers--a Jean Rands--is the Vancouver organizer. Her husband works and she is ~~putting herself~~ making herself available to run our new store there. She is about 20 and very effective--just can't understand ~~and~~ why any honest person can't agree with us.

Glad you both enjoyed your vacations. I am taking mine tomorrow on thanksgiving --a chap I know has invited me to take a spin on the hottest dailboat on the Great Lakes. I came across a book on Chardin the other day--just right for your portable library---published by Skira--Tase of Out Times--and even comes in French and is no doubt available in Paris. Their books are extremely beautiful--like jewels

I will follow your instructions to the letters

warmest regards

Ross



October 13, 1964  
81 Queen Street W  
Toronto

Robert Fulford  
Toronto Daily Star  
Toronto Ontario

Dear Sir:

The other day I picked a copy of the Star out of a garbage pail where someone had thrown it after purchasing it. This is the only way a good union man could come across one these days and I was surprised to read the contents of your review of Quebec States Her Case.

Of course the Vanguard has done its best to acquaint the public with the "Marxist aspect of separatism", as you put it. Our most recent issue contains a translation of the Manifesto just published by Parti PRIS. If you will examine it without prejudice I think you will find it neither "pigheaded" or "boring".

No doubt you have noticed the Dell pocket book "The Age of Permanent Revolution-A Trotsky Anthology" that has just been published. I would defy you to say that of this work of Marxist thought in a future column.

Sincerely

Ross Dowson



great rise in the political consciousness of the Nigerian workers.

*Mid Oct 1964*

## QUE. SOCIALISTS SET UP HDQTRS

MONTREAL — A significant step forward for the Québec left was taken recently with the formation here of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Socialist Workers' League). The L.S.O. inaugurated its new headquarters at 62 ouest rue Guilbault, with a successful social on Saturday, October 3rd. Already, its "local" has been dubbed "Socialist House" among Montreal left circles.

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière is a disciplined group of revolutionary socialists who, basing their action on the accumulated experience of the international working class movement, and the theory elaborated notably by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Leon Trotsky, believe that they have a unique and important contribution to make to the formation of a party which will lead the Québec workers and farmers to a socialist revolution. Autonomous in program and statutes, for it holds that the French-Canadian nation must be free to establish itself its own road toward socialism, the Ligue maintains the closest fraternal relations with the League for Socialist Action in English-Canada, and its brother parties and leagues around the world, such as the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière plans to commence publication in the near future of a public information bulletin, La Lutte Ouvrière, which will present its position on contemporary Québec and international developments.



October 17, 1964

Dick Fidler

Dear Dick

Just a note to go along with Mike's translation.

Have rapidly scanned the Quebec article--looks good to me as does the Parti Pris item. I was hoping that I would get you in time so that you could leave the ~~pp~~ ~~latter~~ article over. I am sure that school must be making its demands and the excellent item on the Chartrand boxing school and the trip to Quebec city are cutting into lectures and study. I will probably hold the pp article over to the next issue---so that will take the pressure off you. Besides the last few days ~~surrounding~~ developments are going to take up quite a bit of the paper---China testing nuclear device, ~~the~~ the space achievement of the USSR, the retirement of K and the Br Labor Party victory.

Let's send the part of Mike's article that we did not use along with the issue of the Vanguard. If Mike were known I think it would be a good idea if we asked recognition of his translation but in this case I would think that it would be more valuable if we asked them to give credit to Workers Vanguard

The idea of a Fair Play for Quebec committee strikes me as very good. I will raise the matter, let you know our collective thinking and how we would intend to handle such a project. I will tell Cliff about Maheu but I see we will be able to take up the details upon your visit

Yes --we had about 14 at the Windsor convention. Dierdre is on the executive--and the left caucus is flourishing in a rather dead organization.

Scott and company have come out with a magazine--devotes a couple of lines to the NDP and about 15 to us--stupid ignorant stuff. Ernie just sent it in this morning and Pat is reading it.

Surprised to see that one of us were arrested--were the hell was Bob H

see you next week

fraternally

Ross



October 29, 1964

U.S.A.

Dear Gordon, <sup>Swp?</sup>

Have intended to drop you a line for sometime--after all you are our most successful student. Had a long discussion with Art convincing him to finish this year to get his BA--and another with John R the otherday. Not that things are that promising ~~and~~ that stimulating that we should throw away the books yet--even the books on math.

The U of T Cuba meeting--see enclosed leaflet--was a considerable success. About 140 turned out making it the second biggest political meeting on the campus --next to the biggest--we held for Morgan. Even more important perhaps is the fact that we are going to be able to widen the Cuba committee on the campus. As you know it has over the past couple of years been largely paper and limited to ourselves. Now with this meeting under our belt and interest arising out of the tour we are going to reconstitute it--it is even possible that Dewart may return. I guess they figure Cuba is here to stay, then the fear of Stalinism has ebbed considerably. La Chute de Khrushchev even helping this ways. The UBC meeting was even larger and the committee out there is constituted on a wider basis

The weekend after this we will be having Pierre Mahen of parti pris up here for the works--campus LSA YSF etc. This should be good for us--we are contemplating the setting up of a Fair Play for Quebec Committee--in all seriousness. It will be good for our Montreal Ligue too. It will enhance our prestige with the persons around parti pris some of who appear to be quite good. Things are moving along swimmingly in Montreal with our open headquarters. we have recruited a fellow who turned up at Peace House to tell them that he was with them but had no use for this passive resistance and non violence stuff. They sent him along to Trotsky house where he correctly belonged. We have a class underway there. have formed a joint committee with the U of M student body, parti pris and someone else to arrange a mass meeting for Malcolm X and I understand that a meeting is being arranged with Mark Lane. I am going to have to put in an appearance too.

Vancouver is growing--they have just had their conference. The store is moving along and what do you know--for the first time in years we have an ultra leftist formation. The Scott group has been expelled as you probably know and despite our attempts to hold discussions with them they have now gone out on their own with what they call the Progressive Workers Movement. They have put out their first issue of a magazine. ~~It contains a statement of purpose~~ It contains a statement of purpose which includes about 4 lines on the NDP and 5 times as much on the LSA. But their latest is a leaflet which is a personal attack on two of our comrades out there labelling them strikebreakers. It has to do with a hysterical action they have seized upon--a small strike--which they are trying to whip up into the insurrection, and some disagreements our comrades expressed. Some of their members are astounded about the leaflet and it may actually do them in. We were going to do an educational job on their statement this coming issue but now we have decided to wait to see if there is a second issue. They have probably pulled in some of the odd balls that came around us--remember McKinney, and possibly Hendsbee

And this Saturday is the FPCC banquet. Peter was down this morning



on his way to work. He tells me that he is sure that we are already oversold—over 250 which will make it by ~~tax~~ far the biggest banquet yet.

Saw a copy of the mimeographed bulletin you put out ~~on~~ containing Baldwin's items and the statement on the elections. Will be watching to see how many votes DeBerry racks up in your town next week.

warmest regards

ROSS



settling out of court for over \$4,000. Instead of discussing the cases, let alone forcing them into court to determine culpability, the Metro council, which debates at length smaller sums involving trivialities, granted the funds, and thereby swept the cases under the rug.

Dowson and Mitchell would on the contrary strengthen the control of civic government over the police commission. The importance of this was brought home only last March in the case of the police state bill that Ontario Premier Robarts was compelled to withdraw in the face of public protest.

## No tax exemptions — Expropriate Queen

**5** Dowson and Mitchell favor the expropriation of the south side of Queen street. But not to turn these properties, with their increased value due to the municipality's investment in the new city hall, over to the real estate interests. The city should retain ownership and carry out a development in harmony with the architecture of the new city hall and in the interests of the community—with the revenues accruing from this project used to ease the tax load off the small homeowner.

Dowson and Mitchell urge the complete abolition of all tax exemptions which are now estimated to cover properties to the value of 400 million dollars, with an estimated loss in revenue of 25 to 30 million dollars a year. They urge the setting up of a special commission, with sessions open to the public, prepared to hear all submissions. Exemptions would be granted only on the basis of need and the social contribution of the appealing interests to the community at large.

## Break through for subsidized housing

**6** In 1958 the Metro Council set itself a target of 1,000 units per year. Now six years later, they have erected 350 family units—for the 4,900 applications they have had since May of this year.

Low cost housing, that can only come with subsidization, just doesn't fit into the plans of any administration we have had in city hall. Last year one of the council's senior members, Alderman Birchard, spelled out the reason before the public welfare, fire and legislation committee, which she condemned as a "do nothing body." She stated that the city council is doing nothing because it is submitting to the pressure of influential land speculators, developers and contractors who "hate public housing here in Toronto."

While they tip their hats to planning and talk in terms of the community's interests there is no offer from land speculators and builders that doesn't cause them to fall all over themselves, violating every elementary concept of planning and community interest. If some of the city's diminishing park lands are requested, if Maple Leaf Gardens wishes to move out over the street line, it can all be arranged. If lack of sewage facilities would appear to forestall a big project, civic authorities accept a contribution to see their way clear to provide them. When the Ontario Municipal Board suggests it may intervene in some flagrant case, Mr. Givens sees the collapse of construction in the city. When qualified civil servants protest, they are arrogantly attacked by Mr. Lamport.

There will be no subsidized low cost housing in Toronto as long as we have stooges of the big business interests running city hall—until we place a labor administration into office. There can be no planning to meet the needs of the people and no harnessing of the automation revolution to the needs of man until the people take control of the commanding heights of the economy and administer them

under a society of meaningful political democracy fused with economic democracy—called socialism. A massive vote behind the candidature of Dowson and Mitchell would mark a great stride forward in that direction.

## vote DOWSON & MITCHELL

### the candidates



Patricia Mitchell, candidate for Board of Control, was born in Toronto in 1934 and has been active in the city's labor and political affairs ever since she joined the CCF in 1953. She visited Cuba two years ago as a guest of the Cuban government to examine the Cuban people's efforts to solve the problems of unemployment, disease and illiteracy, and was very impressed with their achievements. She is a member of the Voice of Women and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. She taught public school in Scarborough for two years, has been employed in office work, and is at present Toronto organizer of the League for Socialist Action.

Mayorality candidate Ross Dowson has been active in the labor and socialist movement since the thirties. A machinist and one time member of the United Steelworkers of America (CIO-CCCL) he has worked as a journalist for many years and now edits the socialist monthly *Workers Vanguard*. Two years ago he spent some time studying the British labor movement. He attended the European Conference of Non-Governmental Aid to Algeria and while in the Democratic and Popular Algerian Republic visited projects being operated under the management of the workers themselves. He subsequently toured across Canada speaking extensively over radio on the problems confronting the Algerian Revolution and seeking aid for it. He is national secretary of the LSA.

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**ELECTION HEADQUARTERS**  
81 Queen St., W. EM. 6-1454







Ross Dowson

The REVOLUTION — the automation revolution — is underway. It has been estimated that 4,000 jobs a week in Canada are being taken over by machines. Educationalists are staggered by the need they see looming immediately ahead of them, the preparing, the training of the generation now in the schools, for three different skills within their life span.

This revolution, undermining the structure of present day Canadian society and posing the need for totally new social relations, is in operation in Toronto. It has burst out of its subterranean workings and forced its way to our attention in the last two years with the closing down of the outmoded Amalgamated Electric plant and the wrecking of the Toronto General Steel Wares operations which thrust hundreds of Torontonians — some with a lifetime employment with these corporations and of such an age that it is difficult to obtain other employment — out onto the street.

Automation — whether this great technological breakthrough will serve the majority of mankind with a better living standard and increased leisure,

or unemployment for the many and higher profits for a few — is the issue in the struggle between the Big Three Lords of the Press and the typographical and mailing workers.

Yet Toronto politics continue to stagger along in the old ruts. The majority of the candidates seeking your support for authority to administer this vast city say there are no issues — that it is only a matter of personalities, or a question of re-endorsing "experienced" persons — one or another who has warned civic benches before.

They hope to conduct the business of the city that raises and disburses a budget bigger than many provinces, employs more people than any single corporation, and is at the center of the industrial heartland of the country, on a "business as usual" basis, to continue to utilize civic offices as a stepping stone to the provincial and federal field, or a sinecure on some civic board, to manipulate zoning by-laws to meet the need of some real estate speculator, and to maintain a favorable climate for the day to day needs of the giant financial institutions and industrial corporations that dominate over all.

If there has always been a conflict in interest between those who work and those who live on their work, between labor and capital, now, with the automation revolution, capital is projected into frontal conflict against and in complete violation of the interests of the entire community. It is already tossing entire plants onto the scrap heap. It is producing more and more goods with fewer and fewer workers, destroying entire skills and eliminating the need for those who possess them, placing unprecedented strains on the schools, creating problems the like of which never existed in such scope before. It is posing the necessity for an entirely new society — a socialist society of production for use, and consumption, not on the basis of ownership, but need.

The first step to put Toronto into motion with this technological revolution that is sweeping in on us is to clear out of office the old status quo administration, defeat all those who aspire to fasten onto it, roll up a mighty vote behind Dowson for Mayor and Mitchell for Board of Control, on the way to installing a labor administration in city hall.

## Extend NDP victories to Toronto

**1** The Toronto area political machines of the Liberal and Tory parties that contest with one another to administer the state apparatus in the interests of Big Business, have carefully fostered the myth that municipal politics are non-party. One of the merits of this is to permit their undercover spokesmen to say and do what they will without any fear of discredit; for each speaks and acts only for himself, with only one vote—and that goes for the mayor too—on the city council.

This has led to the ludicrous spectacle of the last election when two Tories campaigned for support for the mayor's office, and this year, with two Liberals going through the same act.

Over 25% of the Metro Toronto electorate in the last two elections last year, cast their ballot for the NDP. With the Riverdale by-election sweep that preceded the South Waterloo victory, the entire eastern half of Toronto, both federally and provincially, swung into the NDP column. Yet the official leadership of the NDP, and the trade unions which support the NDP as labor's political arm, failed to present an NDP slate or even known candidates for higher posts.

As this Toronto election approached the League for Socialist Action campaigned vigorously to have the NDP and the Toronto and District Labor Council, with the considerable resources at their disposal, pose the possibility of electing an alternative, a labor administration, into city hall. With their failure, the League has entered Dowson and Mitchell. Strengthen the NDP! Signify your desire to see a labor administration in city hall by marking your ballot Dowson and Mitchell on December 7.

## Free rides on publicly-owned TTC

**2** One of the crucial needs of all who live in such an expanding metropolis as Toronto is cheap and efficient transportation. Millions and millions of the taxpayers dollars are being invested in costly speedways, thruways, underpasses, parking lot facilities, and on increased subsidies to the municipally-owned Transit Commission.

Yet as costs continue to mount the situation becomes more chaotic.

Only several months ago, as he did several years ago when a controller, the incumbent Mayor cautiously mused, on the basis of recommendations of planning authorities, that public transit fares might have to be eliminated.

A study by Metro planners in 1962 concluded that 35% of all motorists would leave their cars at home, that millions could be saved not only in TTC administration but in investments in roads and parking facilities, and that congestion would be eased, if we had free transit. TTC Commissioner Douglas Hamilton has said "eventually it will happen... public transportation will have to be treated as garbage collection and water." Why not now, ask Dowson and Mitchell? If elected they would press for the full implementation of a widening system of free transit.

## The answer to the hospital bed crisis

**3** It is criminal that 9 major hospitals in the Metro area admit to having a waiting list of 7,090 persons, 1,022 of them urgent cases. It is ironical that the majority, if not all, have paid their Ontario Hospital Services premiums which guarantee them a hospital bed. There has been a recurring number of Torontonians who, after being refused admission, died, when even minimum attention would have prevented it.

Ontario Health Minister Dymond has placed the blame where it belongs: "We pay grants and we pay for hospital care but the initiative for new hospital construction has to come from the hospital boards."

Now, after not doing so for 5 years, the Metro government plans to add its 1/3rd to the 1/3rd already being paid to the hospitals by the province and the 1/3rd being paid by the federal government out of monies accumulated from the taxpayers. Dowson and Mitchell are opposed to any Metro funds going to the presently constituted private hospital boards which are dominated by representatives of the insurance corporations, drug trusts and medical hierarchy—the vested interests in the "doctor business"—who stand irreconcilably opposed to a public health plan. Boards of this type did their best to smash the health

plan voted for by the Saskatchewan people by depriving doctors who favored the plan of the use of hospital facilities.

Dowson and Mitchell would urge that all Metro funds go to the setting up of public hospitals under the administration of a board representing community organizations, and subject to popular control.

In the face of the total inadequacy of the Roberts' Medical plan, if elected they would demand the appointment of a commission to investigate the feasibility of Toronto opting out and launching a plan of its own. The Metro population is many times larger than the population of Saskatchewan which pioneered this essential service for all North America.

## Strengthen civil control over police

**4** As chief magistrate of the city, and member of the Toronto Police Commission, incumbent Mayor Givens has approved of the mobilization of a special police squad; 600 men on call, 200 on special duty and 25 on "secret work," costing the taxpayers \$40,000 a week. This squad is designed to harass and prevent the striking printers from acquiring other workers in the trade with their views and winning their support in the face of unlimited funds and control of the mass media in the hands of the newspaper bosses.

Dowson and Mitchell are for the immediate demobilization of this special squad.

The five man Toronto police commission is becoming increasingly a law unto itself. It recently passed a so-called by-law declaring that in future no permits will be issued for parades on commercial streets with a heavy volume of traffic—except for those which have become traditional, such as the Orangemen's the Grey Cup and Santa Claus parades. It has also arrogated to itself the authority to preview and censor the message on placards that citizens might care to display to the public.

Far from subjecting the commission to its control the present administration in city hall goes right along with it and is covering up cases where the commission has been sued by private citizens. The commission recently decided not to fight two separate cases where citizens sued it for physical assault allegedly at the hands of police officers, by



November 5, 1964

Cliff Gunter  
1441 Aubin Rd  
Windsor

Dear Cliff;

I was glad to receive the material that you sent the other day. I had already received a copy of the magazine but hadn't seen the contribution to the discussion from Vancouver. I soon as I received your material I put aside a copy of a leaflet that the Vancouver group recently brought out that I thought you would like to see.

Right now I am quite busy with a series of meetings that we are organizing for the Part Pris leader Pierre Mathieu and the coming issue of the paper but here are a few comments.

We had planned to write an extended appreciation of the manifesto that appeared in the magazine until along came this leaflet. Of course we take strong exception to the 14 lines that deal specifically with the LSA. It seems to me that ~~in many respects~~ the authors of this statement, though in other respects they have graduated or left Stalinism behind them have not done so in respect to Trotskyism. This paragraph comes straight out of the Old Stalinist handbook. The authors of this paragraph know better, know that the real truth is quite the opposite than what they write. It seems to me that there is not one shred of truth in any one sentence of this paragraph, demonstrable truth, that it is unadulterated slander. And by this token alone the seriousness of those who publish it is open to question, and anyone who lets this type of crap go by without protest.

Nonetheless we had intended to take up the document because of other portions—particularly the one you mention—its attitude to the NDP. The fact that this movement that is endorsed by the organized labor movement as its political arms and polls over one million votes is dealt with in seven tiny lines speaks volumes. This shows that the central committee authors suffer the classic disease of ultra-leftism, that infantile disorder that Lenin dealt with so lucidly back in the twenties. But then came this leaflet. This it seems to me demonstrates that not only does the committee suffer from infantile leftism but suffers from some severe mental disorder which makes it difficult to believe that it will survive long enough for anyone to be interested in an evaluation of it. I do not know just who is responsible for this leaflet but I would take it for granted that anyone in anyway associated with PWM would protest in the strongest way and demand that a retraction be issued forthrightly.

Some of the questions that you raise are extremely important and would require considerable time and space to answer. So I am sending under separate cover a copy of our magazine that carried all the major resolutions adopted by the ReUnification Congress of the F.I.

Don't have any idea when I might get to Windsor but you can be sure I would drop in to see both you and Rose for a long discussion. And of course we would



certainly hope to see you next time you come into Toronto.

I was speaking to Norman Endicott the other day and he expressed total unawareness of the Progressive Worker. We have been looking forward to seeing Mel Johnson at several places--latest the Fair Play banquet but he has apparently been out of town. The banquet was a tremendous success--almost three hundred there. including James Endicott and Avrom among others.

with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson



November 15, 1964  
81 Queen Street W.  
Toronto

Dick, Montreal

ref: Pierre Maheu <sup>Frank (F1)</sup>

Dear Dick

Well, we have the paper away until after the election, your document on stencils and proofed, and even a couple of pages run off, all the Toronto papers read up to date and torn ready to sort out so that I can start to work on the election manifesto as soon as I get this letter way, and we have John and Bill cutting out the stencils upstairs so that we can get on with the silk screening of the election posters early this week. Sheila is working upstairs on an appeal that is going out on behalf of Severin's campaign and John is downstairs here preparing the signs for a picket demonstration we intend to put on at the labor council meeting this coming Thursday.

A note I meant to add to the short report I sent you on the Maheu visit.--I was talking to Pat and to Claire and it seems that he very studiously evaded saying anything about the ISO and if we mentioned it consistently took us away from the subject. It will be interesting to know of his response to your critique in the latest issue--which appears side by side of the report on his visit here.

And incidentally I meant to tell you about the G & M report of the Lesage speech to the Queen and legislature. I knew this at the time before receiving your article but your whole lead was pivotted on the words not spoken. It would have involved considerable changes and I thought at that time the truth provided a good excuse for a letter from Kent. Inevitably it seems to me. The historical process is working with poor tools. Tell Andre not to write a "nasty letter" to Pierre. The situation is irritating no doubt but Pierre is not exactly an information service on the French publishing business. Pierre has tremendous responsibilities and works exceedingly hard. He must be into his sixties and with very little help and miserable facilities the entire burden of sustaining an internationale center is on his shoulders. Well perhaps not the entire burden now that Joe and Reba are there. When I first met him he was operating out of a tiny office not as big as the file room here where I am typing. Pablo had already pulled away, E and L were tied up with the work of their own sections and Pierre who also seemed to be the responsible in the French section was attempting to handle a Pablist current there. I have always felt that the re-unification was what saved what there was in France, Italy, Austria and several other points. After I made the grand tour and supplied the IC forces with the first picture of the IS forces I tried to assess how Pierre must have felt since then I have tried to bolster up his spirits--become a man in fact. I have tried to make the least possible as much money as we possibly could and tell deeds that I could think of. As you know our movement is no hell--and the same goes for



all the sections. Our forces are too small to make the contribution to the center that is really desirable--with all the leading comrades extremely busy in the various sections--too busy to make the contribution to the centre that they should be making.

Litterature et Revolution has just been published and I think that the same goes for La Revolution Permanente, that is probably why they are not yet in any of the Montreal bookstores. A preview copy of the former came in here for me to reship to Cuba and stupidly I neglected to note the publisher. But it is a ~~xxx~~ big publisher and I would think one that is imported into Montreal ---I would think one of the big stores would supply current catalogues of the big publishers. This French edition is much finer than the English language edition--contains supplementary articles on literature that LT wrote over the years--with some material that I had not seen before. If you cannot get the information we need at any of the Montreal stores let me know--I will ask Reba to get me the information.

I am sorry if my short comments on your document lend themselves to your interpretation. It in fact more than pleases me and I must say if I and other comrades have neglected to say it before, all your writings for the Vanguard and this document too are a tremendous contribution to the development of our cadre, English-Canadian, International and I think Quebecois too. It seems to me that not only has your English spelling been violated by your experiences among the Quebecois but your attitude to us twisted a bit. Who the hell should we Trotskyists turn to, we Trotskyist in English Canada, for an analysis of the Quebec situation, if not to our Quebec comrades. I doubt that it was a waste of time--I am sure that in the process of your writing this contribution and in the process of thinking it out that you gained new insight and have made the task of writing the documents for the ISO conference all the more easy. It seems to me that we needed the notes before we could even start the discussion--that you in the process continued to expand them seems to me to be fine. At anyrate we have them, and we are not going to give them back except in micrographed form with I hope additional comments from other comrades which I anticipate you will feel it necessary to take up.

Sorry to see that the bulletin is presenting so many troubles. Inevitable it seems to me. The historical process is working with poor tools but they are the best available and it is only through their utilization that better ones will be formed. Why don't we lean a little heavier than we had originally hoped on material that appears in the Internationale, the manifestoes of the FI etc. It seems to me that they are of great interest to persons among whom we would circulate the bulletin--the better elements would see this material as a valuable ~~xxxx~~ and necessary supplement to the material appearing in Parti Pris. It is hard to say what talents various comrades have--after a while it may prove absolute that they have no talent for writing our ideas and even little talent for expressing them in the circle that they move in--but they will all distribute and promote what you prove able to write.

At various times the movement seems to burst out of an old shell and new perspectives seem to loom up before it ~~xxxxxx~~, we pick up new material and often this material proves inadequate to meet the task that we consider to be essential. But there is no doubt that the situation is qualitatively better than it has ever been before. For all I know we have comrades who move about, who talk, who meet people that may not be as apropos as it should be that they ask questions quite well--in English and in



French. Of course we cannot build the mass movement we cannot even move as effectively as we must in the present move without our own material but with the Internationale, with Trotsky's writings Quatreieme Internationale we can build cadre.

For years the first cadres of the international circulated Marx then the CI, and then Trotsky and they felt their way as best they could towards developing and applying these ideas to their own country. Many of them proved woefully inadequate but nonetheless they developed cadre. I think that if you took on the responsibility of writing say two really good articles for an issue and then had one or two of the comrades who really wanted to write take on modest tasks --something likes our chips and shavings --and trade union notes--and international notes--we would have a very useful and generally adequate tool.

So we will take from comrades what they can give. No matter what can be said about this and that comrade, collectively we have a good team there. Sometimes it is difficult for comrades to find their place to understand their limitations-- ~~xxx~~ and of course that is not all bad--though it leads to personal antagonisms sometimes. It is always dissapointing to see our fondest hopes about this or that comrade fail to materialize, and it is even frustrating to see talents which we think reside in some comrade wasted in bullshit and laziness---but I know that I myself will always feel despite the odd outburst now and then eternally grateful to every single comrade for whatever he has contributed for what would I myself be without them--I couldn't realize anything at all of what I want to do without them. A tremendously sobering thought

~~xxxxxx~~ Possibly Mike is to make his main contribution in the form of director and leader of study classes--good. He told Dick that he was never ever coming back to English Canada---that Quebec was too important--too stimulating--incidentally.

I am in general agreement with the perspective that you outline for yourself. Yes, the leadership of the LSO can be English Canadians only as temporary custodians. That lets you out. Besides as you well know we have a leadership orblen here--a very grave one...and I have always thought that you were one of the most suited to help solve it. Perhaps you are unaware but I have always been opposed to the dispersal of what cadre we have --to Vancouver, to England and to Montreal. I have always felt that we ~~xxx~~ have not been in a position to do what we have done. In Vancouver's case Ernie wanted to go---Jerry H is not even remotely aware of the problem--he made the decisions to go and return on his own and he is all for probbing here there and everywhere And so we have been shifting the cadre here there and everywhere While I didn't wish to --I was very reluctant--I agreed to the English case--there was all around pressure on this occasion-particularly from the international at the very crucial time of re-unification. As for Montreal my reluctance was tempered by the ferment there, our need to understand it and be in touch with it--even for the Vanguard this was and is important. Then once things started to move it seemed justifiable to let other comrades who were anxious to go and who were not exactly cadre material to bolster up the situation there for us.

I think all your arguments about the law course and the problem of M are valid...I accept without knowledge the one



I feel that your direction should be towards editorship of the Vanguard. I think that you are our best journalist. The next three or four years in Quebec are extremely important ones even as you move into an advisory role with regards to the French leadership we must certainly develop

Three or four years is a long time--but I am afraid it will take us that long. In the meantime Ernie will have returned to Toronto. He was all set to head in a couple of months ago and of course Jerry gave his approval. But I wrote him that in my opinion much of the good work that he has done in Vancouver could be seriously jeopardized by his pulling out right at this time. The branch having just taken on the commitment of a bookstore and larger headquarters, being confronted by the Maoists, Alan and Jean hardly getting settled in and their extreme youth, etc made the timing bad.

He has agreed to postpone the whole matter until the convention.

You don't bore me at all with the contents of your last letter--why when you next come in don't we try to put an evening aside together

Warmest regards

Ross



December 29, 1964

Montreal

Dear Dick

I do not know whether you keep a carbon of your articles but I made a few changes page one---you characterize the PSQ as ill-fated---a changed it to read quiescent. ~~Yax~~ I removed "the youthful collaborators of" in your comment of Parti-pris. First paragraph. In the fifth paragraph--page 2 I removed "By far the best of the radical journals in Quebec, in the opinion of this writer." In the 8th para page 3 first line I removed "has brought them into conflict" And last paragraph I changed successively demonstrated the comparatively recent progression of socialist ideas among.."

These changes are of generally the same character---they tend to make definitive evaluations of currents. They may be and may certainly prove to be correct however I see not point to them and I can see some purpose in not publishing them. It may well be that the PSQ is ill-fated--defunct. It may well be that at this time ~~part~~ Revolution Quebecois is ~~thax~~ better than parti pris and that we can say that the latter marks a progression over Socialisme 64 which in turn marks one over parti pris. But it seems to me that the main thing to note is that the situation is in flux... may not parti pris take a turn to the better and Revolution Quebecois take a turn for the worse. I think that we want to be able to move freely in the left as a whole. It is inevitable and entirely correct that we should lend most encouragement that that specific tendency that seems most susceptible to our influence and is apparently as far as we can ascertain moving more rapidly in our direction. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ On this basis we would govern our activity. But I can see little or no purpose in committing ourselves in print--and least of all in an English language paper called the Vanguard. And of course we favor La Lutte Ouvriere over them all. It is by far the best radical journal in Quebec in the opinion of this writer.

Art wrote up the appreciation of La Lutte. I hope you think it adequate. We are now all waiting to obtain the extra copies we asked for and to see the next issue. Since writing this Pat tells me that she has brought up the wanted copies with her.

I know that you are all busy but it is most important as if you did not agree that La Lutte come out and come out regularly. Otherwise no one can take it seriously. As I suggested to Mike even let it come out with only one article on Quebec. Get some one to translate the article on Canada's Maoists in the last Vanguard--or the article on the pro-Congolese revolutionaries in the last issue with all the dope on the demonstrations in Belgium. Run the article on Ten Days by Reed that we happened to come across in the file material that I have sent down to the LSO. And I am sure that there is considerable more material of a useful character in that material. I think you could get away with one major article on Quebec with say a column of assorted material union notes etc. There are certain types of articles that comrades like Bob who are not experienced articles could pull together--an expose of Levesque, and article on the living conditions of the poor farmers in one of the back areas--straight anti-capitalist articles.

Havent solved that problem of the electric typewriter-varityper. I have Varityper on the lookout for a second hand one--and Tony will be speaking to the service fellow about the newspaper models. I will let you know just as soon as we can work this out. Nice to have an electric typewriter but I am sure you can stagger along as does W.O. and tens of thousands of others---for a few issues. By the way don't sell that mimeo machine to anyone. That is an excellent machine. I was thinking since you are putting out a bulletin that it would be desirable to go onto newsprint--and you need our stripper



Which means when we come to make all the arrangements that we will in all probability be trading you. Let us carry on as usual until you hear from us---which should not be long.

Several days ago I managed to put enough time away to study your document Notes on Quebec. As notes--it is very good and very useful. I think that Art wrote you about his educational on it and some of the contributions and the points of discussion it raised. I think that we are agreed that we need a thesis ---some of the material in these notes will be of considerable aid in writing this thesis and the entire discussion around them will be fruitful

Within that framework there are many things that can be said about various aspects of the document--for instance section 30 second paragraph. It seems to me that the demand for a labor party is both in Quebec and the rest of America a transitional demand. What we know as the Transitional program is a broad generality within which we are to work. Being international in its scope--applying for instance to Italy and France where the working class are organized in the CP and SP--it could not make this a general demand --but there is no doubt that it is part of the transitional program implicitly. There are many areas where we have not developed a program in the spirit of the epoch of transition along the guiding lines of the document---the Ceylonese have recently tried to do so on the question of the press there.

I do not know whether you would still consider that this is the period of formation of the NDP(31) but in my opinion our position is still one of unconditional support of the NDP. In searching for a generality I would say that it will continue to be one of unconditional support as long as the NDP poses the question of power, labor-farmer to power. I think that the meaning of this phrase unconditional support, is clear. We do not say that we will not support the party ~~under the leadership of the present~~ as long as it has this or that leader, or as long as it takes this or that position on this or that specific question. We have our own views as to which current in the party is the most correct, we have our own opinion which we will continue to express what the party's stand should be on Vietnam, on NATO and MLF, on nationalization but we are supporting this party regardless of its erroneous positions on the above because this party draws the broad class line in Canadian politics--and this is the big thing--even though you expel us. And even though you expel us we will continue to maintain our orientation and fight our way back in not because we are masochists but because we support this party unconditionally.

I don't think that the slogan NDP governments in Ottawa and the provinces which you translate into a workers and farmers government which you point out is in the transitional program(as sketched out by LT) saves us. The NDP presents itself as a national party attempting to take office--we have just spelled it out a bit. But that is just what we have not said---Douglas as prime minister--"Well, that depends on his program." We have taken the NDP as it is, with Douglas--and that is an expression of what we mean unconditional support.

I am not sure what all that material above section 32 means for I am heartily in favor of section 32 particularly your excellent point that the idea of a labor party, the idea of posing the essentiality of a mass working class party is the best possible antidote to the disorientation of revolutionary youth by the FRI, FLQ, etc.

Perhaps

~~It~~ all that above section 32 is addressed to  
oriental politics



At anyrate it seems to me to have little to do with ~~x~~ Notes on Quebec. It seems to me that over and above the slogan which serves at this time to clarify how we see the task before the class and gives a broad and meaningful perspective to a tiny group we are probably to see a labor party in the flesh in Quebec--that we are probably going to go through a labor party experience there. It will develop at a Quebec tempo with distinctly Quebec characteristics. But I would doubt that intellectuals could organize such a party even initially "outside the aegis of the official labor bureaucracy."

Sections 35 and 36 ~~it~~ seems to me have to be extended. Do they not put us clearly in the separatist camp? --that you say in 36 that you reserve the right to express your opinion as to the relation that the Quebec state should have to Canada will not be heard in the halabaloo

Section 37 Of course you will take a tolerant attitude to my ignorance but is not the official language of government in Quebec French--and if not officially, is it not in reality? Is there a serious, widespread demand in Quebec for French unilingualism? ~~Of course, yes, because~~ Do not all government orders now appear in French, laws regulations etc. I have that impression. Dont all safety, factory regulations of an official character appear in French--possibly with English alongside them but dont they appear in French, unlike in the rest of Canada which pretends to be bi-lingual. Of course all factory notices ~~of company origin, union contracts etc~~ should be in French--I would be suprised if les Anglais are not putting them that way now--this is what they usually mean by recognizing the French reality. My impression is that there is a great desire to learn English and great readiness to speak English and that the language is less and less the symbol of Quebec's colonial status. If the national sentiments of the Quebec people is expressed in a demand for French unilingualism in Quebec of course we express our solidarity with this demand--and of course I am absolutely in favor of all ISO public statements appearing in French which is itself over and above the question of unilingualism  
doesn't

English Canadian Trotskyism ~~is not~~ only recognizes the autonomous status of ~~the~~ Quebec Trotskyism because it is necessary for us to succeed but as a declaration of solidarity with the Quebec revolution

Sometime when you have an opportunity we should attempt to analyze just what was behind the Lesage government's Bill 54--how did they come to frame-such a bill

I got the impression from Mike that he feels that English speaking comrades--comrades who are not able to understand or speak French have little or nothing to do in Quebec--in Montreal. I think it would be very wrong if this idea existed in anyway in our ranks anyway whether Mike has it or not. There is a sizeable English working class movement in Montreal and there is a considerable Portuguese grouping and others too which I gather all tend to learn English and which should provide us with the opportunity to recruit from. To be sure the LSO must be oriented to the French working class and comrades who do not know French and show any capacity to learn it must learn it and enable us to deepen our connection with French workers. I am sure no one has this idea but we cannot assure our success among French speaking workers by ignoring and giving no perspective at all to English speaking workers who we may prove able to win to Trotskyism. We must of course adopt organizational forms that give the best possible guarantee of our holding French speaking workers in our ranks, assimilating them, teaching them, learning from them, building the essential French cadre.



Some other things I wanted to say but I see it is now ten after 6, the store is closed, we have a meeting tonight --it looks like I will have to read the proofs that are accumulating on the FPCC youth tour pamphlet among other things and so I should shove this off now

warmest Regards

Ross

The youth are just on the verge of taking over quite a fine house on Cecil--looks like I will be moving in to help them carry the rent. A very good group of the youth will be going to the Chicago conference this coming weekend. The Vancouver store seems to be moving better--Jean writes today that they averaged 10 a day this month so everyone is smiles.